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ABSTRACT

Physically integrating social services with schools might be a feasible way of providing social services at a lower cost and/or might lead to improved social services. Examination of 10 school/social service complexes reveals an attempt to redefine the neighborhood at the same time enlarging and rendering it less parochial. The rapidly expanding community education movement offers new models for effecting environmental and individual improvement. The potential advantages and disadvantages of meshing social services with schools include analysis of dollar cost trade-offs; legal restrictions; racial integration; bureaucratic constraints; and educational impact. Six appendixes provide more detailed information on the 10 schools in the case studies; community education legislation and development; the college and community services; and law enforcement and mobile units as potential services to be included in neighborhood centers. (Author)

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The Potential Role of the School as a Site For Integrating Social Services

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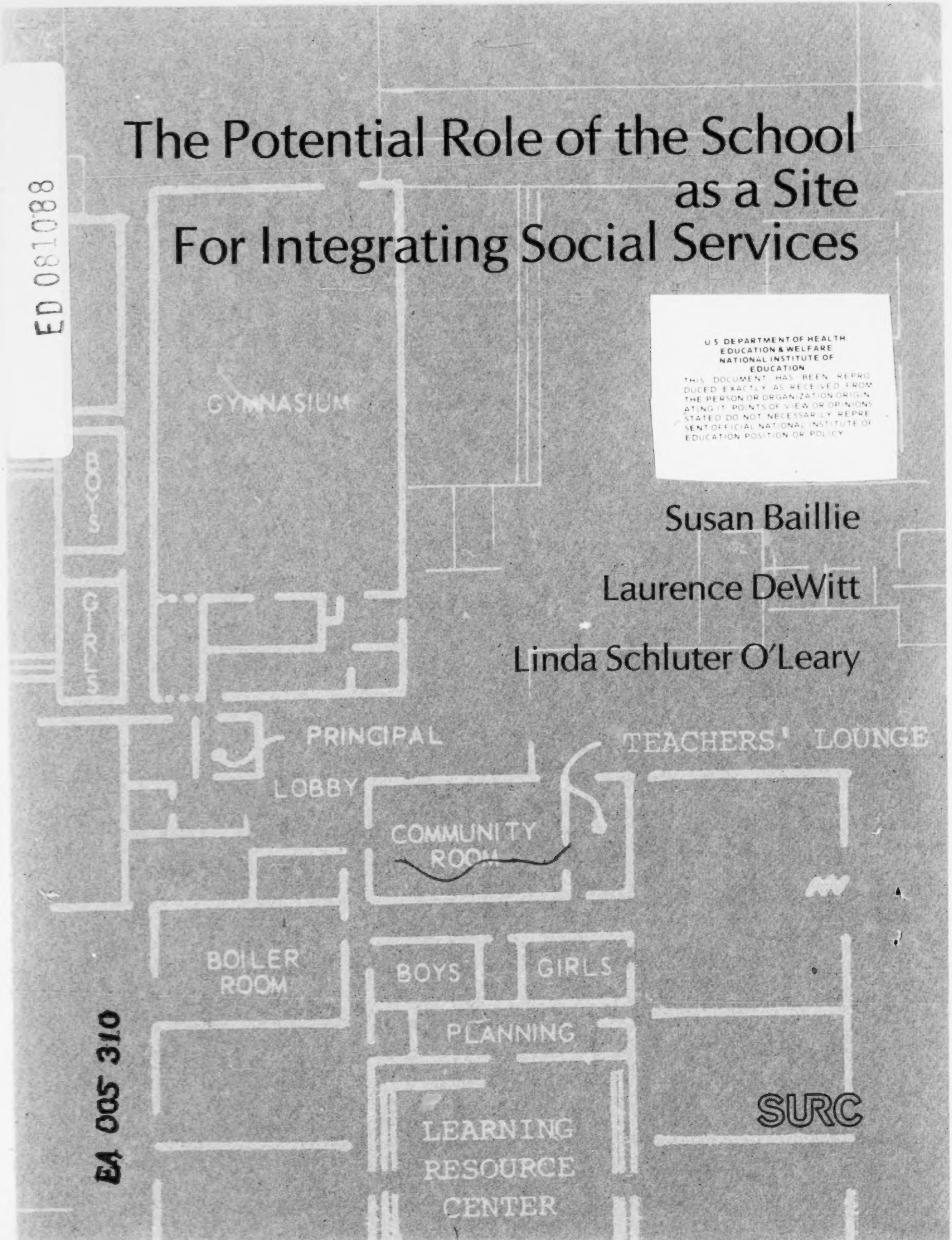
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EPRC RESEARCH REPORT RR-10

THE POTENTIAL ROLE OF THE SCHOOL AS A SITE FOR INTEGRATING SOCIAL SERVICES

Educational Policy Research Center
Syracuse University Research Corporation
1206 Harrison Street
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October, 1972

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POLICY MEMORANDUM SYR 71-5

TO: Office of Program Planning, U.S. Office of Education

FROM: The Educational Policy Research Center, Syracuse*

SUBJECT: The Potential Role of the School as a Site for Integrating Social Services

DATE: March 31, 1972

I.

INTRODUCTION

This study is the product of a fairly brief investigation into the feasibility of integrating social services with schools. "Integration," as used here, has three meanings. First, and most graphically, it refers simply to the physical location of social services and education at one site or in one building. Second, it refers to the complementary interaction of social services, to the transcending of the categorical-administrative boundaries which customarily lead to highly independent and self-contained social service bureaucracies. It should be noted that the first definition of "integration" does not presume the second. Similarly, the second definition need not be based upon the first. A third definition is that of integrating the community members to be served into the decision-making process which determines the structure and operating procedures of social service centers. Our task in this study was to examine the feasibility of physically integrating social services with schools, where feasibility was defined as a combination of costs and all nonmonetary considerations.

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* Principal authors: Laurence B. DeWitt, Susan J. Baillie, and Linda Schluter O'Leary.

There would appear to be two rationales for examining the feasibility of integrating social services with schools. First, it might be a way for providing social services at a lower cost. Second, it might lead to some manner of improved social services. In either case, we are talking about increased "efficiency" or "effectiveness," broadly defined.

It should be made clear at the outset, however, that we are also dealing with something other than the "logical-semantic" sorts of considerations just described. The term "integrated social services" (with or without education) has acquired particular meanings and connotations. For instance, it is intimately related--though it need not be--to various notions of community involvement, participation, or control. For many it also suggests making social services more accessible to potential clients. Finally, "integrated social services" is often a code-word for a fairly well articulated approach to the provision or delivery of social services. It is based on the undeniable fact that different people have differing requirements for social services. The current practice is to have an independent set of services, with each addressing a particular aspect of an individual's needs--physical health, mental health, welfare, job training, recreation, and so forth. With this organization of social services no attention is paid to the unique set of needs of the individual. Nor is there any assurance that he will be made aware of or receive all the services to which he is legally entitled.

The integration of social services--"physically" or geographically, but especially organizationally--is seen as having great potential. Since an individual's needs are interrelated, it makes a certain amount of sense that services aimed at meeting these needs also be interrelated in some comprehensive way.

Finally, it would appear that education could play a vital and central role in an integrated social service program. First, there are educational facilities in virtually every community: they are reasonably accessible. Second, these facilities are primarily utilized during the daytime hours of nine-to-three. And most of these school buildings currently are used only sparingly during other hours. Third, educational services are an integral element of social services. That is, they address a very important felt need of a large number of individuals. Aside from the "core" educational program of kindergarten through twelfth grade, there are a number of other educational needs which are intimately related to other social services: day care--early childhood education centers, vocational education, prenatal and nutritional education, job training and re-training, and so forth.

The integration of social services with education offers an obvious potential for improving the quality and nature of the services which are provided. At the same time, it also appears to present some possibilities for reducing costs. The problem with all of this, of course, is that the claims made on behalf of social service integration are largely a priori in nature. That is, they make a considerable amount of rational sense, but leave unanswered the question: Will it work? The notions in our heads of how things "ought to" work so often collide with what actually happens.

This study addresses this question. We can make no claims about having "answered" it, but we do feel that we have made considerable inroads in the form of identifying problems, issues, and possible consequences, and developing some perspective on their likely magnitude.

Section II of this study presents a brief summary of ten school social service projects that we investigated. Four of these projects are currently operating, one is currently under construction, the funds for another one have just been approved in a public referendum, while three of them are at the planning stage.

Section III is a brief description of the rapidly expanding "Community Education Movement" which has been quietly working for a number of years, in a "grass roots" fashion, toward the conversion and expansion of schools into community centers.

In Section IV we examine the potential advantages and disadvantages of meshing social services with schools. Topics covered include dollar cost trade-offs; the nature of legal restrictions on integrating schools and social services; racial integration and segregation considerations; potential administrative-bureaucratic benefits and drawbacks; and, finally, a brief analysis of the possible impact of school-social service centers on education.

Section V is a brief summary of our major conclusions.

II.

SUMMARY OF CASE STUDIES

We have analyzed a number of schools that offer or plan to offer services in addition to education. Ten of the school/social service complexes we looked at were considered outstanding examples for one reason or another. In summarizing these ten case studies, we have prepared the following chart which offers a brief overview of each. Detailed case studies are to be found in Appendix A of this report.

Name of School	Location	Level	Number of Students	Racial and Socio Economic Composition	Status	Services Offered	Major Funding Sources for Planning Construction and Operation
Human Resources Center	Pontiac Michigan	Elementary	1971 1972 1,400 ******* planned 1,800 2,000	38% black, 62% white	School is operating, social service facilities expected to be completed Spring of 1972	1) medical center 2) dental treatment 3) legal assistance 4) action oriented employment assistance 5) public welfare 6) family services including a daycare center 7) adult education 8) recreation for the community	1) Educational Facilities Laboratory 2) Mott Institute for Community Improvement 3) Neighborhood Facilities Grant – United States Department of Housing and Urban Development 4) local bond issue 5) State of Michigan Special Education Fund
Quincy School	Boston, Mass.	Elementary	800 students	Over 80% non-white; primarily Chinese with blacks, Puerto Ricans, Cubans, and Armenians. Less than 20% white	Not under construction, will probably not be erected as planned	1) recreation for the community 2) health 3) branch of city hall 4) drop-in center for school drop-outs 5) day-care center [above refer to public component of a joint (public-private) occupancy building-private segment will consist of married student housing for Tufts/New England Medical Center]	1) Urban Renewal Funds 2) Boston Public Facilities Department 3) Tufts/New England Medical Center
Williams School	Flint, Michigan	Elementary	600 students	52% white, 42% black, 6% Spanish	3 planned components; school, city park, community services. All currently functioning.	1) community education including adult basic, consumer, job training and rehabilitation 2) school-community services including neighborhood meeting place, child care, juvinile delinquency programs, extension branches for community wide agencies 3) community health services including expanded school children's health services, referral services, planned parenthood, pre natal and well baby clinics, and dental clinic 4) community college 5) Spanish speaking information center 6) Probate Court 7) Flint Police Cadet Program	1) Flint Board of Education 2) State of Michigan Recreation Bond Bill 3) Flint Recreation and Park Board 4) Charles Stewart Mott Foundation 5) H.U.D.'s Neighborhood Facilities Act 6) H.E.W.'s E.S.E.A. Title III 7) Mott Program of the Flint Board of Education 8) Flint Recreation and Park Board (funds from the City of Flint Capital Improvement Fund)

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Name of School	Location	Level	Number of Students	Racial and Socio Economic Composition	Status	Services Offered	Major Funding Sources for Planning, Construction and Operation
Madison Park High School	Boston, Mass	High School (elementary also, see p. A 24)	5,000 students	Planned to be racially and socio economically mixed although site is in all black area	Part of complex is under construction Completion as planned uncertain	Planned to be part of an "urban village" consisting of 1) elementary school, and a comprehensive high school 2) housing 3) commercial sites 4) social service facilities 5) performing arts center 6) public parking lots	1) H.U.D. and other relevant federal sources 2) Commonwealth of Massachusetts 3) Ford Foundation 4) City of Boston 5) private industry
New Haven Community Schools	New Haven, Conn	10 Schools Elementary and middle schools	21,000 students	57% black, 9% Puerto Rican, 34% white	Program began in 1962	1) neighborhood centers for cultural and recreational life 2) educational centers for children and adults	1) Ford Foundation 2) O.E.O. Funding 3) Title I Funds 4) Aid to Disadvantaged children State of Connecticut 5) At present greatest percentage of community school costs paid by City of New Haven
John F. Kennedy School and Community Center	Atlanta, Georgia	Middle School (6 - 8)	1,000 Students	99% black; located in one of poorest neighborhoods in Atlanta; high unemployment, marginal housing; 25% of all residents have incomes below $2,000 per year	Opened March 1971	1) social welfare 2) day-care facilities 3) training for mentally retarded 4) social security 5) legal aid 6) municipal information services 7) vocational education rehabilitation programs 8) adult education and recreation programs 9) pre-kindergarten programs 10) senior citizens programs 11) housing code enforcement office 12) housing relocation services	1) Atlanta Public Schools 2) Private Foundation 3. H.U.D. - Neighborhood Facilities
Thomas Jefferson Junior High School and Community Center	Arlington, Virginia	Junior High	1,400 Students	racially mixed socio economic composition primarily middle class	Site under construction	1) adult education 2) recreaction for the community	School bond issue
Technical Education Career Center and Human Resources Center	same	upper level courses	Students from all high schools on elective basis		Site under construction	1) technical education for high school students and adults 2) full complement of health and social services	School bond issue

Name of School	Location	Level	Number of Students	Racial and Socio-Economic Composition	Status	Services Offered	Major Funding Sources for Planning, Construction and Operation
Welfare Island (new community which will include a number of small schools integrated into the community)	New York City, New York	K – 12 Buildings will be separated in some cases, shared in others; "bases" will be the equivalent of students homerooms with one teacher/counselor for each group of approximately 30 students		25% low- to-moderate income 25% middle income 10% upper income 10% low-income elderly 20% public housing •••••• racially mixed	under construction (first new residents are to move in Fall 1973)	entire complex of services	1) Urban Development Corporation of New York State 2) The various NYC categorical departments (education, health, welfare, etc.)
Buffalo Water-Front New community for 10,000 people	Buffalo Urban Renewal Area—Downtown	K-2 3-5 6-8	1,440	Mixed	1st housing units occupied- planning for school and community center ongoing	1) school 2) day-care center 3) recreation facilities 4) arts and crafts facilities (shared with civic groups) 5) health care unit 6) private commercial i.e. neighborhood stores and restaurant 7) church (Presbyterian)	1) Urban Development Corporation of New York State (non-school capital costs) 2) Buffalo School Department

Redefining and Enlarging the Neighborhood

The most significant conclusion that can be made when all ten of the cases are considered is that the integration of social services with schools represents a very basic attempt to redefine the neighborhood at the same time that it enlarges it and renders it less parochial. Most of the school/community centers we studied involved schools in low-income areas and constituted attempts to revitalize the "quality of life" of declining neighborhoods. Two of the schools are part of new communities. The school/community centers planned, under construction, or newly opened in these areas are meant to give the neighborhood positive focus and to bring the residents together for the purpose of common self-betterment. Pontiac's Human Resources Center, Boston's Madison Park High School and Quincy School, New Haven's Community Schools, the John F. Kennedy School and Community Center in Atlanta, the Williams School in Flint, Michigan, and the Buffalo Waterfront Project are all located in deteriorating inner-city areas. These neighborhoods were at one time unified by religion or race or class status. They were enclaves that in one way or another apparently met the basic needs of the families residing there. The public school was a respected institution believed capable of transforming lower class and immigrant children into middle class adults. Schooling was the primary service demanded of the government. Other kinds of institutions served other kinds of needs reasonably well as measured against the expectations of the time. The current residents of city neighborhoods (whether black, Puerto Rican, or white) are entering the economy and making an attempt to achieve social mobility at a very different time in social history. Low-skilled, low-paying jobs that might at least allow heads of families the hope of better lives for their children are not readily available. The faith in the processes of mobility that once characterized low-income neighborhoods has been replaced by resignation and resentment. Instead of generation improving upon generation, each generation follows the last to nowhere.

Multi-faceted service delivery complexes have been planned with the hope of interfering in the process of human decline that characterizes many inner-city neighborhoods. For example, the Superintendent of the Pontiac School System, when faced with the need to replace a half dozen inner-city elementary schools responded by articulating his belief that inner-city schools had to do more than provide "warm, attractive housing for school children in segregated neighborhoods." It is his belief that if "white and black children could be brought together in one setting with fully enriched educational, social and recreational programs, there should be a potential environment to improve the total living of residents in that quadrant of the inner city."*

The Williams Community Education Center is an attempt to address the educational, health, recreational, and social service needs of all the community surrounding an elementary school. The Center began by consolidating two elementary school communities (one white, one black) into a central area with some attempt to redefine the previously segregated communities by providing a focus for common self-improvement.

Boston's Madison Park High School was planned to be just one component of a newly created "urban village" in lower Roxbury. This urban village, consisting of housing, an elementary school, a high school, commercial sites, social service facilities, a performing arts center and public parking lots, was to provide a focus for an impoverished ghetto area. At the same time, it was to have as its core an integrated 5,000 student high school. The Quincy School Complex in Boston's South Cove area is another example of the attempt to racially integrate a school and a neighborhood while providing a focal point of neighborhood activities and of service delivery for the resulting enlarged area.

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* William W. Chase, "Design for Regenerating a City," United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education, American Education, March 1970.

The John F. Kennedy Center in Atlanta and the New Haven Community Schools have not attempted to racially integrate their constituencies. Rather, they have focused on improving the quality of life of the neighborhood's residents.

The Welfare Island and Buffalo Waterfront projects are attempts to create entirely new communities from the ground up and as such will begin with a "new" population residing in a community planned to meet the many needs of a socially, economically, and racially mixed group of people in a comprehensive way.

Racial Integration

The school and community centers that we examined handled the issue of racial segregation/integration in entirely different ways. Seven of the ten (Welfare Island, Buffalo Waterfront, Pontiac, Flint, Quincy, and Madison Park in Boston and Jefferson in Arlington, Virginia) involve serious attempts to integrate schools racially. With the exception of the new communities, all were previously segregated schools. In Pontiac, an integrated neighborhood standing between all-black and all-white neighborhoods was purposely chosen as the site for the school. The Quincy School and the Madison Park School in Boston are both to be located in segregated neighborhoods. By drawing students from a larger area than the immediate neighborhood, it is expected that both will become integrated schools. The Thomas Jefferson School and the Human Resources Center in Arlington represents a continuation of a move to consolidate two previously segregated schools--one black, one white, as does the Williams School in Flint.

Atlanta's Kennedy School and Community Center is located in a black neighborhood and is all-black. Similarly, New Haven has not racially integrated its community schools, all of which are inner-city neighborhood schools.

Community Involvement in Decision-Making

In all of the cases we examined, some deference was given to the value of community involvement in making decisions about the scope and operational guidelines of the school and community centers. The projects' planners, school department officials, and administrators all indicated that members of the communities were responsive to the creation of integrated delivery systems. One of the review team's greatest difficulties and failings was that of ferreting out "community" reactions to the Centers, particularly critical ones. Only in Atlanta and Boston have we been able to document opposition. In each of the other cases, citizen advisory councils seem to have worked more or less cooperatively with the professionals, and vice-versa.

The Madison Park High School Complex was planned to include new housing for those who would be dislocated by the "clearing" of the site. An agreement between residents of the area and the City of Boston stipulated that no housing units were to be razed until replacement housing had been constructed. The community has been intimately involved in planning all phases of the project and has been in favor of the creation of a school-based social services complex.

Planning for the Human Resources Center at Pontiac involved setting up a committee of 30 community members charged with the task of making community interests and attitudes known to the planners. They offered thirty-three specific recommendations for the proposed center. Thirty-two were incorporated into the plan. The members of this citizens' advisory committee were chosen by the P.T.A.'s of the elementary schools which were merged to form the Center.

In Atlanta, a neighborhood resident who owned property on the proposed site refused to sell his land to the developers because he believed that homeowners were being displaced unnecessarily and that the school should be built in a neighborhood where it could be racially integrated. A group of blacks in Atlanta were organized to fight the construction of the school. They filed suit in federal court with the support of the N.A.A.C.P. The case was lost and today the school is located on the planned site and is 99.9% black.

In Flint, a 38 member Community Advisory Board worked with the educational staff, with consultive help and advice from the many agencies in the Flint area, in planning the Community Education Center to meet the expressed needs of the residents. Deed restrictions, funding problems, and construction delays initially hampered community interest and involvement. There was and continues to be active community involvement in the social service component of the Center.

Planners for the Quincy School Complex decided that the school would be part of a joint-occupancy facility shared by married student housing for the Tufts/New England Medical Center. The community's Chinese residents were opposed to the erection of closed occupancy apartments. Their neighborhood has been gradually diminished in physical space by the crush of urban development and the Chinese were very reluctant to allow more of it to "disappear." They were also opposed to the state-mandated creation of racial balance in their school. At present, the school population is predominantly Chinese. The proposed school complex would include blacks, Puerto Ricans, other minority groups and whites as well as Chinese. The opposition of the Chinese community has delayed construction to the point where the plan itself may have to be abandoned.

In all of the cases we examined there appeared to be community involvement. In no cases was there community control of the facility or of the planning for the facility. Residents of the area worked successfully in some cases (Pontiac, Flint, Madison Park, and others), and unsuccessfully in others (Quincy in Boston), but in all instances community members were working with professionals rather than making decisions that professionals were obligated to carry out.

Of the community schools we analyzed, New Haven was the only instance where the decision to have community oriented schools offering more than education to school children was made without involving residents of the community. New Haven's move toward community schools began in the mid-fifties. At that time, the idea that people should have an input into the administrative decisions affecting them was not widely shared by "the people" or by administrators. Since then, New Haven officials have actively cultivated citizen participation in operating the schools.

The Significance of Strong Advocates

The clout and endurance of prominent individuals or groups was a major factor in the successful creation of the community school program in New Haven, the John F. Kennedy Center in Atlanta, the Human Resources Center in Pontiac, the Williams School in Flint and the Urban Development Corporation Projects in New York State. Each had a strong advocate or group of advocates dedicated to the proposal that saw it through significant obstructions.

New Haven is a good example of the importance of dedicated individuals. Isadore Wexler, principal of New Haven's Winchester School 20 years ago, saw and acted on the need for the school to reach out to the community. Later, Richard C. Lee, Mayor of New Haven, focused attention on the role that the schools could play in the human renewal that he believed to be the most significant factor in the extensive rehabilitation necessary in New Haven's inner core. Both were instrumental in the creation of New Haven's community schools. They secured Ford Foundation money on the promise that New Haven itself would provide the buildings and the administrative staff necessary for a community school program. Their constituencies had to be convinced of the value of these programs. Because of the groundwork done by Wexler, Lee and others, today most of the costs of the program are built into New Haven's school budget.

Pontiac's Superintendent of Schools, Dana P. Whitmer, its Board of Education and its City Administration, were all in favor of the creation of the Human Resources Center. They petitioned the United States Department of Housing and Urban Development to allow them Neighborhood Facilities money for the construction of a school/community center. H.U.D. had never before supported anything related to school construction. A major policy change was made on behalf of the Pontiac plan. Similarly, Michigan's State Legislature had to be persuaded to change a law that disallowed direct federal grants for school construction. Getting the center built was only the first step in the process of decentralizing social service bureaucracies and bringing satellite offices to the neighborhood.

The success of the creation of the Kennedy Center in Atlanta was largely the result of the efforts of Dr. John W. Letson, Atlanta Superintendent of Schools. Letson was a convert to the community school idea. When he was superintendent of schools in Chattanooga, he took the school board members to Flint, Michigan, to introduce them to the Community School program. He did this again with school board members in Atlanta. He used his authority and prominence as superintendent to push for the center.

New York State's Urban Development Corporation is responsible for the massive effort involved in the Welfare Island and Buffalo Waterfront projects.

Social Services--Hard vs. Soft

In collecting the data for this report we found it necessary to make distinctions between the kinds of services offered by school/community centers. Providing adult education and recreation to the community differ from the delivery of "hard core" social services such as health, public welfare and employment assistance. Many school systems offer some form of adult education. Extending the program so that it involves a larger segment of the community costs money and demands a considerable investment of time and energy on the part of those involved. The same is true of offering recreational facilities to the community. The fundamental difference between education and recreation and other social services are the way in which they are regarded by our society.

Social services such as public welfare and health care are basically redistributive in that everyone pays for them but they have been directed primarily at lower-income people. Most Americans consider themselves overburdened by the present levels of taxation and would probably be unwilling to forego an even greater share of their income for the sake of greatly expanded services to "poor" people. The "hard" social services are viewed by many as "handouts" to people who have failed. Adult education and recreation are seen as means of self-improvement, the other services are thought to encourage dependency on the part of recipients.

Problems might be encountered in attempting a mix between community education and recreation and the hard social services at any one center. Many parents would be hesitant to send their children to a school or to themselves become involved with a school center that includes public welfare offices, drug treatment facilities, venereal disease clinics and other services they consider unsavory. At the same time, the needs of diverse inner-city populations are not met by adult education and recreational facilities alone. To some prospective users of a school/community center, these offerings would be secondary given their level of existence.

Using the school, then, as a site for distributing health services, social welfare services, and other kinds of services could involve radical and fundamental changes in the structure of present day delivery systems that would be very expensive and involve commitments that a large segment of the citizenry might not accept. For example, improving health delivery systems by using schools as sites could mean bringing health services to millions of American children heretofore denied the attentions of a physician or related health personnel on anything like a regular basis. Similarly, the objective of most public welfare systems is not to seek out those eligible for benefits, apprise them of their eligibility, and make sure they receive all to which they are legally entitled. It would involve a reversal in operating procedures to actually reach out to serve people rather than to hide from those who demand services.

Despite our pessimism, Kennedy School, the Williams School, the Human Resources Center in Pontiac, the Human Resources Center in Arlington, and the Welfare Island and Buffalo Waterfront Projects are planning to offer what we have termed "hard" social services. The Kennedy Center and the Williams Center are the only programs now in operation. Little evaluation of their success has taken place. The program at Kennedy has been in operation less than a year. A rough guess on the part of one of the staff members was that the number of welfare recipients had increased from 10% to 20% as a combined result of integrated social services and having welfare services more geographically accessible. The Williams community service component has only been in operation since the first of January. Initial response to its programs has been good, but no evaluation is available at this time.

The Human Resources Center in Pontiac, the Human Resources Center in Arlington, and the Welfare Island and Buffalo Waterfront Projects are still in either the planning or the construction stage. Madison Park and Quincy will probably never be built as planned.

A related consideration is the question of whether social service units are to be truly integrated into the school program or to merely share a building with a school. The only site now operating with a full complement of social services is the Kennedy School in Atlanta. For the others, it is difficult to foresee exactly what the relationship between community members, professionals and schoolmen will be and how the school and the scoial service units will be affected by their contact with one another.

It is expected that the school children will be benefitted by having other kinds of services available to them and by having their parents successfully involved in the school milieu to the extent that they might overcome negative attitudes about the school. Many parents had educational experiences that left them fearful, suspicious and hostile toward the school. Involving them in a friendly environment where they are treated like human beings with important contributions to make to the school/community center can be a way of convincing school children that the school itself is an integral and fulfilling part of their lives.

Whether the school/community center can be such a friendly place where the needs of neighborhood residents as they themselves define their needs, are met is a question we explore in greater depth in the following sections. We have looked specifically at the financial, legal, administrative, and bureaucratic constraints that exist in creating such centers.

III

THE COMMUNITY EDUCATION "MOVEMENT"

. The concepts of community education and community schools are not new. John Dewey and others supported the idea of the school as an integral part of the community at least 40 years ago. Historically, scholars and teachers have defended the idea that teaching and learning is more meaningful if it is related to what is happening in the individual's wider environment.

It is important to note that there exists considerable confusion in the definition of community education, community schools and neighborhood schools. Many use the terms interchangeably while others make clear distinctions in their use. Most community educators define their concepts using the ideal as the model. Actual programs often vary considerably from this ideal although the ideal terminology is used in reference to the programs. Most would accept the following definitions:

Community education - is a concept based on a process of education for children, youth and adults. The process refers to the organization of the community into appropriate size units to facilitate interaction, identification of local resources, and involvement of people in the solution of their own problems and the problems of their community. It is an effort to capture a sense of community without eliminating its pluralism.

Community schools - are vehicles which provide opportunities for community involvement and decision-making. They are for the entire community and are often located in the neighborhood school. (They need not be in the neighborhood schools to be community schools.) These are major distinctions between the neighborhood school and the community school. Both may offer similar programs, services, and activities, yet the community school concept is premised on the ultimate goal of community involvement and participation and is not necessarily based in the individual's neighborhood. The neighborhood school is usually oriented to skill attainment, personal enjoyment, and individual self-enrichment for a particular age group at a school in the individuals immediate surroundings.

Phillip A. Clark, Associate Director of the Community School Development Center at Western Michigan University visualizes the community education movement in four sequential stages:

First level - High School completion courses, basic education, enrichment and recreation programs for community members at all ages.

Second level - Programs and projects that attempt to have a positive effect on current community problems.

Third level - All educational agencies working together toward common goals, sharing resources and complementing the services of one another.

Fourth level - The reconstruction of a total educational process under a philosophy of community education; helping people to help themselves.[*]

(Many community educators have expanded Clark's third level to specifically include the notion of mobilizing social agencies and other resources to meet the particular needs of the community. The John F. Kennedy School and Community Center in Atlanta would be an example of this stage in the process of community education.)

There is significant support for the development of community schools primarily at the "grass roots" level. There are 600 school districts committed to the community school concept. These include small districts as well as large city systems such as Miami, Atlanta, Toledo, Detroit, St. Louis, New Haven, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Phoenix, Salt Lake City, Indianapolis, and Minneapolis.* Much of the impetus for community schools has come from the C. S. Mott Foundation in Flint, Michigan. The Mott Foundation has supported the idea since 1935 when "seed money" was first given to the school board in Flint. Since then Flint has become a model of community education for many school districts. Each year over 12,000 visitors view their community school program in operation. The Mott Foundation has also supported the education of many professionals in the area of community education with Mott Fellowships at Michigan universities. Often the graduates have become Community School Directors who serve as the catalysts for community education programs. The Mott Foundation has also supplied seed money for school districts interested in establishing community school programs. Although the Foundation has played a significant role in the community school movement, other groups are now taking over the leadership function. The movement's dependence on the Mott Foundation is diminishing. There are fourteen university centers for community education development (see Appendix D) as well as many local groups.

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[*] Phillip A. Clark, "If Two and Two and Fifty Make a Million," Community Education Journal, Vol. 1, February 1971, p. 9.

The National Community School Education Association was formed in 1966 and grew out of the community education movement. Starting with a small membership primarily based in Michigan, the association has rapidly expanded nationally both in membership and in prominence. The 1971 convention held in Miami, Florida attracted 1,000 delegates representing almost all states. Delegates included school superintendents, principals, college and university professors, community school directors and others involved in community education programs. They represented all types of schools including black inner-city schools in St. Louis, Atlanta, Indianapolis; Indian Community Schools in Flagstaff, Arizona and around Tempe,

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*Reported in the Mott Foundation Annual Report 1970, p. 24. No indication is given on the degree to which the school districts have adopted or are committed to the concept.

Arizona; and rural and suburban schools from various parts of the country. In addition to the annual convention, the N.C.S.E.A. sponsors workshops, training sessions, and seminars for those interested in community education.

Those involved in the movement appear to be well aware of the complexities of societal conditions and social change. They are attempting to offer some solutions. It is recognized that at present most of the activities are at the community school stage; however, community education centers such as the Williams School in Flint where recreational, educational, and social service delivery systems are combined offer community educators new models for effecting environmental and individual improvement. Unfortunately, the movement is young and there is little factual data or research available on the impact of the programs. We do have limited information on which to judge its success. This includes:

1. The absolute increase in community school programs nationwide.
2. The increased opportunity for vocational training, leisure skills, and personal enrichment.
3. The increased opportunity for community participation in efforts to solve community problems.
4. Increased interest at the state and federal levels, demonstrated by new programs and legislation.
5. The lowering of the artificial barriers between the school and the community.
6. Greater support for school bond approval and school taxes by voters in these communities.
7. An increasing number of university centers for community school development and professional training in community education.
8. The reduction of vandalism rates at some schools.
9. A decrease in juvenile delinquency rates (based on limited and impressionistic evidence).

Conclusion

The community education "movement" has been initiated by private sources without dependence upon direct federal or state assistance. Local schools and communities have had to rely on their own initiative to develop financial and non-financial support for their programs. The number of community education "activists" is growing rapidly, and appears likely to continue doing so.

In the last two years, a number of states, including Florida, Utah, and Michigan, have enacted legislation in support of community schools. In addition, legislation was recently introduced into the United States House of Representatives and Senate with the purpose of promoting the development and expansion of community schools.* These new programs, if well designed, may meet with an unusually active and well organized response in a growing number of communities.

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*Brief summaries of the state and federal legislation are included in Appendix D.

IV.

ANALYSIS OF SCHOOL/SOCIAL SERVICE INTEGRATION

Cost of Integrating Social Services in School Buildings

We have discovered no insurmountable cost barriers to the sharing of facilities by social services and schools. In general, the combining of a particular set of social services appears to lead to cost savings, especially capital costs. With regard to operating costs there also appears to be a particular set of social services which, when physically combined, can lead to dollar savings. And these tend to be the same social services which, through sharing, can save on capital costs. An illustration might be useful. The case of locating a parks and recreation department swimming pool in or next to a school building, rather than constructing two separate pools, appears to be a fairly clear-cut example. The school and the recreation department can share the cost of building and maintaining the pool, with savings for both and a resultant increased efficiency in the actual use of the pool. Another, and similar, example is the construction of public libraries in or adjacent to school buildings. The same sorts of arguments can be made for the use of school facilities and classrooms during non-school hours by community groups, adult education classes and so forth, and these can result in dollar cost savings. The principle here is simple. It involves the more efficient utilization of planned or existing public facilities, with a resultant saving of public funds, or, possibly, the leasing of only partially used public facilities to private organizations with a resultant increase in public revenues.

However, we are skeptical that substantial dollar savings can be realized by locating daytime social services in the same buildings with schools. The examples listed above all referred to use of school facilities during non-school hours, and we do not perceive much flexibility in the re-scheduling of school hours. America works largely on an "eight-to-five" basis. The value of having employment, welfare and other kinds of offices open during the evening hours is easily recognized but this is not to suggest that they be closed during the day. Obviously, separate spaces would have to exist if more than one group would need to have access to the facility at the same time of day. The cost of creating school/social service complexes would probably not be greater than that of creating separate, geographically unrelated facilities. For the most part, we believe that the decision to locate daytime social services in schools or elsewhere must be made on the basis of non-cost considerations.

The Abt Associates have reached somewhat similar conclusions about the costs involved in integrating social services. Their findings are based on very extensive analysis of comprehensive neighborhood centers. These centers, however, did not include primary and secondary education. The following passage appears to summarize their conclusion about costs:*

> Evaluation of the costs associated with the multipurpose character of program suggests that being multipurpose, per se (as measured by our four dimensions) does not seem to have many identifiable costs. Evaluation of planning, administration and organization, and actual program operations reveals few costs. Only 12% of the programs report such problems, and these often seem to be problems which could have occurred in categorical programs as well (e.g., need for more staff, dollars, space, and/or training).

Since the comprehensive neighborhood programs emphasized decentralization of social services in an effort to realize truly "neighborhood" centers, the Abt study also focused on the dollar costs associated with physically decentralized facilities. This is an important factor when examining the feasibility of integrating social services, since many of the advocates of such programs consider decentralization of facilities instrumental in creating increased access to the services:**

> The two most frequent physical decentralization costs are found to be (1) additional direct costs for staff or

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* Abt Associates, Comprehensive Neighborhood Programs: Policy Analysis and Conclusions, October 1970, p. 15, Prepared under Office of Economic Opportunity Contract No. B99-4981.

** Ibid., p. 6.

> facilities (in 40% of the programs) and (2) less efficient program operations due to a lack of central supervision (in 20% of the programs).

On the other hand, some of these extra costs were offset by reduced time and travel costs for the users of the services--60% of the programs examined by the Abt researchers reported such savings, but it was not clear what portion of the savings accrued to the social service budgets, and what portion directly to the clients of those services. Abt Associates' overall conclusion, however, was that there was a slight additional cost due to phsycial decentralization.

Finally, Abt Associates also found that there appeared to be a slight increase in costs due to administrative decentralization: 18% of the programs that they studied reported "inefficient management as a result of staff inexperience or lack of central supervision, and 11% report additional staff costs as a result of [administrative] decentralization."*

The Abt Associate conclusion, then, is that there are some, largely marginal, dollar cost increases associated with decentralized, integrated social service centers. It should be emphasized that they go on to conclude that the benefits of such programs greatly exceed these additional costs. This is discussed later.

There are other problems of a financial nature involved in combining daytime social services with schools, especially in the area of capital funding for the construction of new facilities or for the adaptation of existing buildings. Schools, recreation agencies, and libraries--regular users of capital construction funds--are having enormous difficulties raising funds. If other social services are to be included in the same site, we would not be alone in predicting that the public would reject a high proportion of the bond issues designed to fund such a scheme.

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* _Op. cit._, p. 7. It was not clear to us how Abt Associates managed to separate the cost of physical decentralization from that of administrative decentralization. The breakdown may have been based on the impressions of those who ran the programs.

Bond issues, of course, are not the only means of obtaining building funds for public services. A number of other options are avilable, and they are listed below.*

(1) "Pay-as-you-go" would involve paying the entire cost of construction at once. Such funds might be available from "sinking" or "reserve" funds. A second major alternative is to have a special, "one-shot" tax to raise all of the funds needed. These do not appear to be particularly popular or common methods for financing school or other public facilities. Some states have laws against the accumulation of public funds in "sinking" or "reserve" accounts. And one-shot taxes tend to be less palatable to voters than less sizeable increases in tax rates that spread the "bite" out over a number of years and over a number of different tax payers.

We see no major potential source of capital funding for social service integration projects in "pay-as-you-go" mechanisms.

(2) State Grants. A limited amount of funds are available each year in the form of special state grants to various school districts. Approximately 26 states operated such programs in 1969. The states differed widely in their eligibility requirements for these programs, although a number of them apparently restricted these funds to use by school districts which have met or are near their debt limits.

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* This listing borrows generously from and is in large part a summary of The Guide to Alternatives for Financing School Buildings, Educational Facilities Laboratory, New York City, November 1971. Although the Guide is oriented toward raising funds for schools, the same strategies seem to apply to obtaining funding for school/social service projects.

About four states have recently enacted "Community Education" laws. None of these statutes provide for substantial monetary assistance. Nonetheless, it is not at all unreasonable to speculate that a number of states will begin providing funds for community education projects in the next five years. At present, we must conclude that state grants do not offer a vehicle for raising the capital required for social service integration in sites shared with schools.

(3) State Loans. Some 14 states operated loan programs in 1970 for the construction of educational facilities. Generally, these funds appear to be restricted to those school districts which are, for various reasons, unable to sell bonds.

This form of funding appears to be extremely limited as a source of capital for school/social service integration projects.

(4) Special State and Local Corporations and Authorities. There is a wide range of different state and local corporations and authorities which have various powers to assist in the provision of capital for social service integration projects. We did not undertake a systematic analysis of these public and quasi-public units. It should be noted, however, that four of the school/social service integration projects that we examined were financed through such units.

The Boston Public Facilities Department is in charge of constructing all city buildings in Boston. Its major function is the construction of city schools, but it is also in charge of construction of facilities for all of the other social services. For instance, the Boston Public Facilities Department has played a major role in planning for the Quincy School and the Madison Park School. Although neither of these projects may get off the ground, they might not even have gotten to the advanced planning stage without the Boston Public Facilities Department.

The Urban Development Corporation in New York State appears to be a fairly unique governmental unit.

(5) Federal Funds. There are a variety of different federal sources of funding which can be used for physically integrating social services with schools. These federal sources appear rather bewildering and arcane. With no pretense of being thorough, we list the following federal programs and acts through which funds can be obtained for development of joint school/social service projects:

(a) The Neighborhood Facilities Act which is administered by Department of Housing and Urban Development. (Three of the most promising and imaginative school/social service centers that we are aware of--John F. Kennedy School and Community Center in Atlanta, Georgia, the Human Resources Center in Pontiac, Michigan, and the Williams School in Flint, Michigan--received capital for facilities from this source)
(b) Office of Economic Opportunity
(c) Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965
(d) Adult Education Act of 1966
(e) Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968
(f) Vocational Education Act of 1963
(g) Older Americans Act of 1965

None of these varied sources of federal funding have been addressed to the specific goal of integrating social services in schools. To our knowledge, only the Office of Economic Opportunity has been actively and deliberately involved in large scale experimentation with integration of social services (without regard to whether education was included as one of the services). Furthermore, these federal sources of funding do not represent the basis for developing a massive, nation-wide program of integrating social services in schools or anywhere else. At least they do not do so as they are presently constituted. From the point of view of groups interested in integrating social services in schools, federal funds represent a cafeteria of semi-indigestible dollars which might or might not be useful for their purposes.

(6) Leasing and Joint-Occupancy.* There are a large number of alternative possibilities in this area, and ingenuity is a very major factor. The rationale of leasing, in the cost efficiency sense, is to economize on the use of scarce, expensive land which is owned by the public. This, of course, can be done by the simple expedient of constructing tall buildings. Instead of building a two or three story school on the valuable site, it is possible to construct a 10, 20, or 100 story building, and have the school use the first two or three stories. The remaining stories can then be sold (as in a condominium), or leased to other public services and agencies or to private businesses and agencies. If the school district or city raises the capital for the venture, it can gain a new source of income from the private groups which are renting space. And it may be able to make a profit on these rental fees. Alternatively, the city or school district may sell air rights over the school to a private developer, and this sale can provide some (or all) of the capital required for constructing the school and social service element of the new building.

There appear to be three fairly distinct alternative approaches to leasing and joint-occupancy. The first two are based largely, if not exclusively, on cost considerations. The third anticipates improved quality of work or services as the result of a shared site. First, it is possible to have a shared site, but with separate buildings. This procedure allows a city or a social service to sell part of its land, and use these funds for construction of a new facility on part of the site. Second, there have been a number of instances of a building being shared by different public and private organizations. Third, it is possible to design shared facilities with the intention of gaining more than cost advantages. This, of course, is largely what we are dealing with in this report.

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* The Educational Facilities Laboratory was our major source of information on leasing and joint-occupancy. They have three documents which describe the potential for this form of financing and development: Joint Occupancy: Profiles of Significant Schools, EFL, June 1970; Schools: More Space/Less Money, EFL, November, 1971; Guide to Alternatives for Financing School Buildings, EFL, November, 1971.

The use of these leasing arrangements appears to be very much on the increase. According to a recent Educational Facilities Laboratory publication, "New York City will get 23 new schools during the next five years, all of them paid for in full by revenue from commercial buildings built above the schools."* They also note that the non-public sections of these buildings are subject to property taxes, so the city gains in this manner too.

Most of the information we have on leasing arrangements and joint occupancy is centered around schools. But we see no reason why a program of integrated social services (with or without schools) could not make use of the same strategy. From a cost or financial point-of-view all that the lease arrangements represent is a way for the city to convert some of its wealth (land and air rights over that land) into income. And it can do this without relinquishing use of the land for public service sites. One of the major cost barriers to establishing school-social service centers is the "start-up" capital. Leasing air rights and joint occupancy with private concerns is one practical way to obtain these funds.

But there are problems with this approach. First, cities are poor. They may prefer to keep their social services in existing lower rent facilities, and gain the revenue from renting the new, higher cost "lease facilities." Second, there sometimes are legal barriers to these lease arrangements.

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* Joint Occupancy: Profiles of Significant Schools, EFL, June, 1970, p.3.

This frequently is where ingenuity on the part of planners has been required. In some cases laws have been changed. In other cases, advocates for leasing and social service integration have had to do such things as creating new corporations solely for the purpose of "getting around" existing laws and regulations.

(7) Private Foundations and Donors. Two of the school/social service centers that we examined received contributions from private donors. In both cases (the John F. Kennedy School in Atlanta, Georgia, and the Williams School in Flint, Michigan) these private grants were sizeable. Nonetheless, it was our impression that both of these centers would have come into existence more or less as they are presently constituted even if they had not received these private funds. Both centers can be described as having rather "lavish" facilities. The private donation for the Kennedy School and Community Center represented slightly more than 5% of the total cost of planning, construction, and equipment. We are sure that a 5% cutback in the total budget would have been taken in stride. The same, in general, appears to be true of the Williams School in Flint, Michigan.

(8) Conversion of Existing Facilities. This does not represent a method for raising capital, but it can have the same effect by reducing the amount of capital required. In general, it is considerably cheaper to convert existing facilities than to construct new ones. A major drawback to this approach is that existing facilities may not easily (inexpensively) lend themselves to the sorts of uses required for integrating social services with schools. The facility may not be large enough to house all of the agencies which it would be desirable to integrate. If there exists such a building, it may not be located in a satisfactory place for realizing some of the non-costs goals of social service-educational integration such as easy client access. However, there are sure to be cases where fully satisfactory facilities are available for conversion, and their use could represent a considerable saving over the construction of new ones.

(9) Mobile Units. We examined the potential for reducing capital costs by utilization of mobile units which could contain expensive capital equipment. In general, our findings are rather negative. First, "custom made," non-mass produced units are extremely expensive. Some of those who have had experience with such mobile units have stated that it would have been cheaper and easier to build permanent locations. Second, many of the units, especially those housing the more sophisticated and expensive equipment, became more or less semi-permanent anyway, due to the expense and inconvenience of moving them. We conclude that mobile units make cost-sense only in fairly unusual circumstances. However, this generalization refers only to situations where the number of units produced is small.

Conclusion

Integration of schools with some social services offers an opportunity for sizeable dollar cost savings. These savings are based on the more efficient utilization of planned or existing public facilities, with a resultant saving of public funds, or, possibly, the leasing of only partially used public facilities to private organizations with a resultant increase in public revenue. Recreational facilities, auditoriums, libraries, and the use of schools by adult education, and community organizations are examples.

We are extremely skeptical that substantial dollar savings can be realized by locating "daytime" social services in the same building with schools. If such integration were to be based on physically decentralizing these services--increasing the number of social service "branches"--it would probably result in some marginal cost increases in terms of administrative and staff efficiency.

But the major cost factor associated with integrating such "daytime" social services as health and welfare with schools involves the question of access and availability. If these services were made more accessible and amenable to current and potential clients, it would surely result in a very considerable increase in the use of these services. The Director of the Family Services Office at the John F. Kennedy School and Community Center in Atlanta, Georgia, indicated that the number of new "welfare" clients had risen on the order of 10% to 20% as the combined result of having a family services office in the Nash-Washington area (where there had not been one there before), and the added referrals which developed from greater cooperation among the various social service agency employees. We have found no very convincing estimates of the number of individuals who are legally entitled to existing social services, but are not receiving them due to unawareness or timidity and embarrassment. But we would be surprised if they were less than 20% of those now receiving them. In addition, if social service workers come to view themselves as true advocates for their clients, more "liberal" definitions of eligibility would surely evolve.

The added cost resulting from greater numbers of people taking advantage of their eligibility for welfare might be partially offset by savings resulting from more efficient monitoring in terms of reducing the number of ineligible clients currently receiving funds and services. A survey of 2.85 million welfare cases in 39 states, the District of Columbia and Puerto Rico conducted by H.E.W. in 1971 led a H.E.W. official to conclude that mistakes in the administration of state and local welfare programs could be costing more than 500 million dollars a year. A thorough management overhaul of the public assistance system was said to be the remedy for the errors and deficiencies believed to characterize most state and local social service departments.*

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* New York Times, "Welfare Errors Held Huge in Cost," January 4, 1972, p. 23.

Currently, the National Administration is urging support for its welfare reform proposal which "would take a heavy administrative burden off the backs of states and localities by transferring responsibility for determining eligibility and making payments to a new uniform and automated national system."* Critics of this proposal would contend that a national system of record keeping would not necessarily be less prone to error than are present state and local systems. They would question the possibility of savings in welfare costs resulting from a national system.

Legal Restrictions

There are a number of legal complications and barriers which can stand in the way of creating school/social service centers. Many of the centers that we are aware of--operating or planned--have run into legal obstacles. Despite this, it is our (partly subjective) judgment that these legal problems usually can be coped with, and in most cases need not represent an insurmountable hurdle. This conclusion is based on the experience of a number of schools and other organizations which have wanted to do something new, and have run into legal problems as a result. A mixture of persistance and creativity on the part of the initiators of these new programs has overcome restrictive legislation and even bureaucratic regulations.

At the turn of the century, there were very powerful legal restrictions on the use of school facilities for anything other than the education of children. It was held that school boards were legally required to spend educational funds and use educational facilities only for this narrowly defined purpose.** Gradually, over the course of the first few decades of this century, the position of the courts became much more liberal.*

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* *Ibid*.

** See, for instance, Bender vs. Streabich, 182 Pa 251, 37A 853 (1896), and Sugar vs. Monroe 108LA677, 32So961 (1902).

> Whereas in former years the educational process was confined to instruction of a pedagogic nature, the development in educational theories has been toward the liberal [sic] which recognizes the propriety of extra-curricular activities both as to the pupils attending schools and the citizens of the immediate community.

Furthermore, a number of states have enacted legislation explicitly establishing broad latitude for school boards in the use of school facilities. Presently, then, there appear to be no major or widespread legal prohibitions against integrating schools and social services on the grounds of misuse of school buildings or educational funds. But there remain other legal problems, especially of a financial character. We turn now to a description of how several projects have handled these restrictions.

When the Human Resources Center in Pontiac, Michigan, was at the planning stage, there was a major legal barrier in the form of a state law and an administrative restriction with regard to use of H.U.D. money under the Neighborhood Facilities Act. The "odds" appeared to be very heavily stacked against the Pontiac planners because both the H.U.D. regulation and the state law had the same effect. The regulation prevented H.U.D. from awarding a Neighborhood Facilities Grant for use in constructing a school building. The state law prohibited school districts from receiving federal funds for the construction of school buildings.

To summarize very briefly, the Pontiac planners arranged to have the statute changed to permit them to receive the money from H.U.D. At (about) the same time, they were successfully prevailing upon H.U.D. to change its regulations, and permit Neighborhood Facilities grants to be used for constructing schools.

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* 86 ALR 1196, quoted in John T. Kirby, "Community Use of School Facilities," Community Education Journal, Vol. 1, No. 2, May 1971, p. 14.

The planners for the Quincy (Boston) project faced a similar state legal restriction. They wished to build a public-private condominium, but there was a Commonwealth of Massachusetts statute prohibiting such an arrangement. Simply put, the Quincy planners succeeded in having a new law approved by the state legislature eliminating this prohibition.

The John F. Kennedy School and Community Center faced a different kind of legal problem. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People opposed the plan on the grounds that it would lead to a segregated, all-black school. This battle was waged in the courts for several years before the Atlanta School Board finally prevailed.*

The Educational Facilities Laboratory has documented a number of other cases--not necessarily involving social service integration--where school districts have successfully lobbied for changes in state laws, or have devised or discovered "loopholes" for circumventing such legal obstacles.**

Although our over-all conclusion is that legal restrictions generally present hurdles rather than outright barriers to school/social service centers, considerable time is often required for mastering these hurdles.

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[*] The J. F. Kennedy Middle School is now a virtually all-black school.

[**] See, for example, Guide to Alternatives for Financing School Buildings, EFL, November 1971, passim.

Racial Integration and Segregation

The whole notion of creating school/social service centers runs into enormous problems concerning racial integration. Such centers could inherit all of the racial problems with which schools are currently beset, and then some. Alternatively, such centers might possess the potential for ameliorating racial tensions. The fundamental problem appears to rest with the definition of the community to be served. Would there be separate centers for whites and blacks--following the lines of the current racial composition of existing schools? Would this be a socially desirable development? Would it not lead to even greater separation and, perhaps, polarization of the races? On the other hand, does busing of either students or social service clients essentially contradict the whole principle upon which school/social service centers are based?

We make no pretense of having answered these questions. They involve very fundamental and personal concepts in the area of human values and ethics, and it seems clear that there is no "answer." Our purpose here is to lay out some of the problems and some of the possible trade-offs.

There appear to be three basic alternative stances that can be taken with regard to the racial composition of the school/social service centers.

1. A racially integrated school located in a lower income, perhaps largely black, area, with white children bused.

   The attached community service center would serve the surrounding, low income community.

   Advantages

   A. The services are needed for the community, and a program such as this might make them more accessible and responsive to clients' needs.

B. It creates a facility in which the community can become involved and participate. For those black parents whose children are in the school, this may create additional communication with the school, and involvement in its activities.

C. Knowledge of the services might have a positive effect on the white students and parents.

Limitations

A. Many parents might be even more reluctant to send their kids to a "black, inner-city school" which houses welfare programs, rehabilitation programs, drug clinics, and programs for unwed mothers. (We ignore, for the moment, the fact that most of the local residents might not want to send their children to such a place.)

B. Parents of children being bused might not use the services of the center, defeating part of the purpose of integrating the services.

C. Many black children bused out of their neighborhood would not benefit from the programs during the day.

2. Location of school/social service centers in gray zones--areas where the populations are integrated or where black and white areas are adjacent.

The attached community center would serve both the whites and blacks in the area.

Advantages

A. This would represent a "frontal attack" on segregation in housing and education by trying to redefine "the community." It might improve race relations if the community is successfully involved in the planning and design of the center. The services might be helpful to all concerned and provide a base for discussion and healthy interaction. This is essentially what planners have been trying to move toward at the Williams School in Flint, Michigan, the Quincy School in Boston, and the Human Resources Center in Pontiac, Michigan. At this point, it would appear that the Williams School and the Human Resources Center have reasonably good chances for success. There is considerable doubt that the Quincy Project will even come into being.

Limitations

A. Complete racial chaos might develop. This is a direct move toward racial integration. The outcomes are uncertain, and depend for the most part on what can only very loosely be described as "local conditions."
B. It creates problems for site location. The boundaries between ethnic communities are often the most "unattractive" areas.
C. It might reduce the effectiveness of services for some groups.

3. Separate but equal or separate and more than equal.

This would involve developing some school-community centers in black areas and others in largely white areas. Each would be open to all members of the community.

Advantages

A. This approach is working in several black communities--John F. Kennedy School and Community Center in Atlanta, Georgia, and at the community schools in New Haven, Connecticut. It is providing blacks with an opportunity for community involvement and community decision-making that was not available previously.
B. The programs might be of such fine quality that they will attract the other races or ethnic groups. At Trotter School,

in the all black Roxbury section of Boston, 47% of the students are white. They were attracted to the school by the quality of the programs, and have not been forced to attend. However, the Trotter School received a large infusion of federal funds to establish its curriculum.

Limitations

A. Legal restrictions--state, federal, and constitutional.
B. We have serious doubts that this approach would be socially constructive if emulated on a large scale. We cannot deny that for a number of minority communities such programs can serve useful catalytic roles in establishing and re-establishing cultural pride, confidence, and awareness. Nor can we deny that in a number of cases this would appear to be about the only way for such groups to obtain quality social services. Nonetheless, we fear that it might lead to a form of social stasis--racial separation and discrimination--for which this society has a demonstrated predilection. Unfortunately, this "separate but equal" approach appears to represent the "path of least resistence" in terms of social preferences and attitudes.

Administrative-Bureaucratic Considerations

There would appear to be no finite limit on the number of potential bureaucratic-administrative obstacles to integrating social services with schools. Some involve social service agency regulations, some are of a legal nature, and many more involve personal, personnel, and personality problems and clashes. It was our fairly strong sense that school/social service centers can be fostered only where there is someone (such as a superintendent of schools) or something (such as the New York State Urban Development Corporation) which possesses a fair amount of clout, and is dedicated to the enterprise. And it is very helpful if this advocate has access to "new" money that will not be available unless social services are integrated with schools.

There probably are some exceptions to this generalization, but we judge them to be of the "Bali-Hai" genre. In some circumstances such social services as recreation and adult education can be integrated with schools without enormous effort, although this is not always the case. But a "moving of mountains" effort generally would be required to join such major social service agencies as health and welfare with education. In this section we first examine the administrative problems and prospects with regard to establishing school/social service centers. Next, we consider some of the administrative factors related to such centers once they are created.

(1) The following sorts of administrative-bureaucratic impediments to commencing social service integration projects are widespread.

A. Fears, especially on the part of heads of social service agencies, that their power and authority will be diminished. This fear, of course, is legitimate if the aims behind integrating social services are to be realized. Organizations do not appear to have a natural inclination to share with others their control over resources, as indicated by the Abt Associates studies of the Neighborhood Center Pilot Program.* They found that "Program operations and personnel decisions were the first tasks found to be delegated to the neighborhood centers; budgetary decisions were the last."*

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*Abt Associates, A Study of the Neighborhood Center Pilot Program, Sepbember 1969. The Neighborhood Center Program was the outgrowth of a cooperative effort on the part of four federal departments and agencies: The Office of Economic Opportunity, The Department of Housing and Urban Development, The Department of Health, Education and Welfare, and The Department of Labor. The underlying notion was to provide integrated services at "the neighborhood level." The new neighborhood centers were to be sponsored by existing city-wide OEO community action agencies. The organizational plan was for the community action agency to help establish these decentralized neighborhood centers, gradually turning over control to the local communities served by the centers.

B. Bureaucratic immobility. As thousands of testimonials have revealed down through the ages, bureaucracies are not very facile at changing course. And even when they do, it is usually only after a protracted time. This problem exists in any single bureaucracy; the difficulty is compounded geometrically when a group of bureaucracies must change course, more or less at the same time and in the same direction.

C. Obtaining the cooperation of all employee and professional groups. We encountered several instances where school janitor unions caused serious delays in setting-up nighttime use of schools by social services. Their contracts had to be re-negotiated, and there was disagreement over new terms and over who was going to pay for their increased pay.

D. Defining the service boundaries of service center components. The physical integration of education and other social service functions on one site can be made difficult by differing and frequently overlapping geographical boundaries. Traditional school attendance boundaries have been drawn rather precisely by local Boards of Education. Park and recreation services are generally available for the entire community. Criteria other than geographical location of residence add further confusion. Social service client groups differ with the nature of the service. Health centers frequently base their eligibility requirements on income level.

E. Community participation. Many of the efforts at improving social services and making them more accessible to their clients have involved some form of community participation, control, or involvement. We are convinced of the merits of this approach, but it is not free of serious drawbacks. Democracy is very time consuming. Or, as Abt Associated have concluded:*

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*Abt Associates, Comprehensive Neighborhood Programs: A Synthesis of Research Findings, O.E.O. Contract No. B99-4981, November 1970, p. 19.

> There seemed to be a "zero-sum" quality about resident participation vs. effective planning: the more resident participation that was included, the harder it was to develop a plan which was agreeable to all participants.

There are, perhaps, even more extensive problems concerning the relationships between "the community" and the social service agencies over such matters as what services will be provided in what amounts, and, especially, who will control the provision of these services.

(2) It is demonstrably possible to overcome the various legal, financial, and administrative barriers to establishing school/social service centers. Doing so generally will require considerable efforts over a long period of time by dedicated advocates. But simply getting all of these social services "under one roof" with a school does not in any "automatic" way mean that social service delivery will be improved. In fact, at that point the battle has just barely begun. It is quite possible for the various social service agencies and professionals to go their own separate ways, much as before the reorganization. It is also possible that the quality of the services will worsen.

One of the major operational problems is the relationship among various staff members. First, there are potential problems in the interaction of professional and non-professional or para-professional personnel:*

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*Abt Associates, A Study of the Neighborhood Center Pilot Program, Vol 2: The Neighborhood Service Programs, September, 1969, p. 11.

> Kirschner Associates found that 70% of the [neighborhood] centers studied made a distinction between the professional and non-professional staffs. As a result, conflict occurs which impedes the effective operation of the centers.

A study by Emanual Hallowitz reached a similar conclusion: the jealousy of social service professionals over their control of programs creates sizeable friction between them and the non-professionals.**

Despite these problems, virtually all of the studies of which we are aware support the efficacy of a strong role for para-professionals in social service programs. While it seems clear that their inclusion creates added administrative problems and inter-staff tensions, the "net effect" of the employment and presence of para-professionals is clearly positive. This is largely because the non-professionals or para-professionals are usually drawn largely from the immediate community being served, and are somewhat representative of the community views and interests in an operational way. In addition, they generally have greater rapport with local residents, and can more easily gain their confidence.

One of the most fundamental claims made by advocates of integrated social services is the increased ability to deal with the "whole man" rather than "farming-out" his various needs to separate and highly independent agencies. If such an effect can be realized, the benefits of this comprehensive approach seem inescapable. However, delivery of comprehensive services requires a high degree of inter-professional cooperation, and this can be difficult to achieve.

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* Kirschner Associates, A Description and Evaluation of Neighborhood Centers, prepared for OEO under contract No. OEO-1257, Albuquerque, New Mexico, December 1966; referred to in Abt Associates, Comprehensive Neighborhood Programs: A Synthesis of Research Findings, prepared for OEO under contract No. B99-4981, November 1970, p. 26.

** Emanuel Hallowitz, "Issues and Strategies in the Use of Non-professionals," presented at the National Association of Social Workers Symposium, San Francisco, California, May 25, 1968; referred to in Abt Associates, Ibid., p. 26.

Louis Kriesberg has studied this problem in some detail, with special attention directed to the relationships between public health and mental health personnel.* He found that the organizational cooperation problems included not only inter-professional jealousies, though these were present, but also involved the application of different approaches to social service delivery. He also discovered that inter-professional cooperation was facilitated by integration of the administration of the programs. But he notes that where an integrated administration entails subordination, the subordinated profession will be reluctant to cooperate.

The John F. Kennedy School and Community Center in Atlanta, Georgia, is a case where a number of social services have been located in a single building. It is a new enterprise, and they are only now beginning to explore the possibilities for increased professional and agency cooperation and interaction. Since Atlanta seems to constitute a very fertile environment for this sort of social experiment, their progress in this regard should be scrutinized.

There is a final issue with regard to the role of the professionals which warrants considerable attention. It concerns the relationship between the social service professionals, including teachers, and their clients and the community. At present, many, if not most, social service facilities and their staffs would be characterized by their clients as inaccessible and unapproachable. One of the major objectives of integrating social services is to make these services more available and useful to clients. But there are dangers that the opposite would occur.

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*Louis Kriesberg, "Organizations and Inter-Professional Cooperation," in W. Heydebrand, ed., Comparative Organizations, New York: Prentice-Hall, forthcoming.

As we have made clear, placing social service professionals in a common site can increase their sensitivities about "their" prerogatives. It is possible that clients would face increased rather than decreased professional control. And such a development could be abetted by well-intentioned efforts on the part of these professionals to provide "uniquely tailored" comprehensive services for each client. This could serve to reconfirm the not too latent perception of many professionals they they "know what is best" for their clients.

Conclusion

We need only to restate our original remarks. Administrative and bureaucratic pitfalls in social service integration schemes are legion. An advocate or group of advocates, preferably armed with political clout and money, and possessing unusual degrees of patience and perseverance, seem almost necessary if a school/social service center is to be "pushed through." Even then, creation of such a center does not in any way guarantee success in terms of realizing the goals of such centers: improved services delivery, broadly defined. The key "operational" issues revolve around the personal and working relationships between professionals and para-professionals in the same service area, between professionals working in different service areas, and between the professionals and the community. A plausible scenario for these relationships would involve the development of informal organizational ties. The various professionals, para-professionals and members of the community involved in a given school/social service center might come to define their interests in terms of the center itself rather than in terms of their non-center peers. If this happened, the informal ties would be a powerful force in overcoming administrative and bureaucratic resistance to the concept of integrating services.

Some Consequences for Education

It is difficult to make *a priori* judgments about the effects of integrated social service centers on the education of the children enrolled at the site. Yet the absence of evaluative data for existing programs and the limited nature of our site visits leaves us with no alternative except to draw upon existing theory and research as a basis for speculation about the probable impact of such centers on the education of school-age children. Clearly this impact depends upon a host of variables whose relationship to educational outcomes is complex and inadequately understood. Nonetheless we believe it possible to describe some of the more likely educational consequences and to identify some conditions which might influence their magnitude.

The potential consequences are of two types. In the first category are those effects associated with changes in the economic condition, life-style, family structure, health and psychological disposition of children, their families, their friends, and their neighbors. Although the conventional wisdom has held for some time that these factors hold greater significance for educational achievement than do the characteristics of the school or its program, it is difficult to even speculate about the nature or magnitude of their impact.

The vast body of research literature relevant to this topic is a confused and complex terrain whose mapping is a task beyond the domain of this inquiry. It will suffice to point out that the expected benefits of this type are the primary rationale for the program and that they will undoubtedly yield educational gains. Indeed, careful monitoring of these programs may provide us with a better understanding of the relative importance of these variables and the mechanisms through which they influence the performance of school children.

We feel somewhat more confident about our capacity to delineate some of the possible consequences of social service integration for the character and quality of the school itself. Much of the attractiveness of the concept arises from the opportunity it presents for educational reform. However, before we examine the potential areas of change, some attention must be given to the problem of determining which schools ought to become integrated social service centers. Unless an incredibly ambitious and expensive nationwide program were embarked upon to integrate all schools with social services, some criteria would have to be employed for deciding which schools should be selected. Among the projects that we examined there was a rather clear criterion: the schools most in need of new facilities were selected. This reflects both the realities of limited budgets and the desire to impact upon low-income areas which are typically served by the oldest facilities.

In general, there appear to be four basic questions involved in the selection of a site. Two of these, costs and racial integration, have already been discussed. The other two questions concern, first, the degree of proximity needed to ensure accessibility to services and, second, the age-range of students who would benefit most from the improved social services and expanded learning environment available in a center. Neither question can be answered unambiguously. The importance of proximity depends upon factors such as housing patterns, the availability of public transportation and the kinds of services provided. Similarly, the significance of the age of the school population depends upon the type of services to be provided in the center. Without having examined these questions in great detail, it would appear to us that elementary schools would provide the most appropriate setting both on grounds of proximity to neighborhoods and on grounds of reaching both parents and children as early as possible in the child's developmental process.

The fact that older youths would be attracted to these centers by various services may be a source of problems if they are located in elementary schools. There are many parents who would be reluctant to have their children, young or old, attending school in facilities which also serve the clients of welfare, unemployment, alcoholic, narcotics, and public health programs. Problems of psychological threat and physical safety might be even worse in some inner-city schools serving other adolescents and could be a barrier to access for some clients, particularly the very young and the very old. Many social service employees would share these feelings. It should be made clear that we are not suggesting that these personal safety problems exist in all low-income areas or that they are restricted to such areas. There are many suburban high schools that older adults enter only with the greatest trepidation. Nevertheless, the location of the facility may well turn out to be the critical factor in determining its success in becoming a focal point for the community and its effectiveness as a delivery system for services.

Examination of the effects of integrated social services for the quality and the character of the education which takes place in the site school must include at least the following four topics: the size of the school, parental involvement and participation, the role of the teacher and changes in educational activities.

A) The Size of the School

We believe that there are a number of factors associated with integrating schools and social services which militate against the development of small schools. Whether this is a crucial point depends upon one's theory of education. We do not plan to go into this in any detail, except to state that there are some who feel that school size is a critical variable in the design of effective learning environments. Proponents of small schools argue that they enable children to get involved in more activities and provide more supportive and responsive settings.

The major cost-savings factors we have identified--shared use of expensive capital investments such as swimming pools, libraries, auditoriums, and so forth--offer large savings only if there are a large number of users. This suggests, although it does not necessitate, fairly large schools--perhaps very large ones. All of the school/social service centers that we examined involved large schools. Most of them involved a thousand or more students. It should be noted, however, that two of the projects, the Thomas Jefferson Junior High School and Community Center and the Welfare Island new town, are both attempting to realize the benefits of small schools at the same time that they capture the cost and non-cost benefits of school/social service integration. They are doing this in very different ways. The Jefferson Center will include some 1,500 students, but will divide them into three fairly separate schools of about 500 students each. The Welfare Island approach is not based on the physical integration of schools and social services in a single structure. The planners for Welfare Island evidence a strong commitment to the small school concept, scattering their learning facilities in small units. They aim to integrate the social services, including education, into the community, rather than placing them in a single site. It is not clear whether the Welfare Island model offers easy emulation in non-new town settings. It is also, as yet, untested.

B) Parental Involvement and Participation

It is widely believed that tremendous educational improvements can stem from the involvement of parents in the education of their children. There are a variety of ways in which parents might be involved in the educational activities of a social services center, ranging from symbolic participation aimed at co-optation and control to complete "community control" over its activities and staff. In our view the most constructive approach seeks to forge a partnership between local adults and the center's professional staff. This can be accomplished by encouraging community participation in a variety of activities including planning and decision-making. Such participation also can be furthered by involving them as para-professionals or in volunteer roles which convey status. It means creating a variety of opportunities for more direct and personal relationships between parents and the professionals. It is here that the notion of a community center is crucial, for such relationships between parents and the teachers and other professionals requires a sizeable amount of mutual respect and cooperation. How such an attitude and atmosphere can be generated remains problematic, to say the least. And there are a number of factors which militate against it, not the least of which is the extreme jealousy with which many social service professionals and teachers guard their prerogatives. It is possible that these "sensitivities" will be brought closer to the surface by having a number of different social service professionals working in close proximity to one another. This was discussed in more detail in the preceding section.

C) The Role of the Teacher

The possibility of conflicts among professionals in different areas of activity has been raised at several points. The current trends toward differentiated staffing, greater reliance upon technology and the emphasis upon accountability and parental involvement have radically altered the role of the classroom teacher. Whether this is for good or ill depends upon one's interpretation of the educational consequences of these changes. Placing the teachers in a milieu in which they must work with other professionals whose training and degree of specialization may exceed theirs represents a new threat to their autonomy and scope of authority. If teachers are to be treated as equals and as professionals in such settings, greater attention must be given to defining the nature of their skills and the scope of their professional domain.

D) Changes in Educational Activities

Many of the advocates of integrating social services with schools clearly have in mind some of the concepts which fall under the rubric "schools without walls." This is a very old approach to education which is currently being re-emphasized, considered, and applied. It represents a straightforward attempt to make education more "relevant" and interesting, at the same time that it can be useful in promoting functional literacy, broadly defined.

But, again, there can be problems. There are such things as "empty" learning experiences. In fact, the major argument for "schools without walls" is the perception on the part of many that schools are especially prone to offering such experiences. But what is the assurance that the non-school experiences will be much better? We feel that there is a clear potential for such improvement, but we are unaware of what would assure it. A visit to a factory, zoo, or insurance company, or even a short-term job in such places can be as intellectually and emotionally vacuous as rote memorization of tables of random numbers. It is not our purpose to attempt a debunking of various reforms of education and learning; we are very much in favor of more extensive experimentation. There are earnest and well considered educational innovations, and it is crucial that they be supported and continued. There are also educational innovations which are based on a sort of blind faith that a certain set of new physical circumstances will lead to educational breakthroughs. The "integration of social services with education" could take on this cast--as if all that need be done to reap educational gains were the physical integration of these services.

One final caveat seems appropriate. If we assume that the relationship between the two types of educational benefits and educational achievement is characterized by diminishing returns, then it follows that the potential gains for low-income or "disadvantaged" children will be greater. The potential redistributive effects of comprehensive and integrated social services programs are unlikely to be entirely lost by their widespread adoption by affluent communities. This reasoning rests upon critical assumptions about quality. Nonetheless, the attractiveness of the idea stems in part from its potential to close the educational gap between the poor and the affluent.

Integration of social services using the school as the locus provides an opportunity to reconcile the two major competing theories of educational disadvantage. They are the cultural deprivation argument and the inadequate or unequal education argument. It is our perception that both cases rest upon partial truths and they must be seen as complementary rather than alternative explanations. To the degree that integration of social services reflects a concern with the quality of the school as well as the character and environment of the child and his family, it promises to be a major step toward the provision of equality of educational opportunity. It is definitely an approach worthy of further examination and experimentation.

V.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS: THE POTENTIAL

The physical integration of schools and social services is workable. We do not concur with the Petronius Principle, although the bulk of historical evidence does seem to weigh heavily on its side:

> We trained hard, but it seemed that every time we were beginning to form up into teams we would be reorganized. I was to learn later in life that we tend to meet any new situation by reorganizing; and a wonderful method it can be for creating the illusion of progress while producing confusion, inefficiency, and demoralization.*

Merely reorganizing social service offices will not fundamentally alter the quality of these services unless goals other than decentralization are accomplished. Such goals include increased access to services for clients, improved quality of services and increased community participation in decision-making about these services. While physical integration of social services and schools does not automatically improve delivery of services, locating them under one roof constitutes a viable approach to achieving their functional integration. The benefits of functional integration can include a more comprehensive approach to the needs of people through improved referral and outreach programs.

Physical Decentralization of Services

The client of the social service agency frequently has more than one kind of need. He might have health problems, both physical and mental, employment problems, and problems supporting himself and his family. When the various services designed to meet these needs are geographically scattered and administratively discreet, much of the burden of knowing what services are available and where to go to find them is left to the client. The nature of public transportation and the cost of private transportation adds still another dimension to the problem.

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*Petronius Arbiter, ca. 60 AD.

A comprehensive approach to the comprehensive needs of individuals would suggest that the various social services be housed in one readily accessible site and be administratively integrated. In urban areas where population density and geographic scale warrants, decentralized, branch social service centers placed in neighborhoods might prove to be a significant step in bringing services to those who need them. The Watts area of Los Angeles is an extreme example of the inadequacy of public transportation, but smaller cities and rural areas have similar problems, though on a smaller scale. The Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders contained the estimate that from a central Watts location, the nearest employment service, public health clinic or welfare facility is at least two hours away by public transportation and involves at least two changes of bus.* The report was published in 1968. There is little evidence to suggest that services have been made fundamentally more accessible to Watts residents since that time.

The Role of the School

Schools can play a vital and central role in integrated social services programs because there are reasonably accessible educational facilities in virtually every neighborhood. These facilities are utilized primarily during the daytime hours of nine-to-three and only sparingly used during other hours. Beyond logistical considerations, we might add that educational services are an integral element of a comprehensive social service system. They address a very important need of a large number of individuals. Aside from the core educational program of kindergarten through twelfth grade, there are educational needs which are intimately related to other social services: day care and early childhood education centers, vocational education, prenatal and nutritional education, job training and many others.

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*Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders. New York: The New York Times Company, 1968.

Goals of the educational process such as attitudinal change and learning of new behaviors should inform the workings of the social service agency. Like many of our institutions created as holding operations for outcasts, public welfare and other social services have been historically structured to maintain and to pacify the poor. They have not been directed toward rehabilitation and the development of self-sufficiency on a level of existence in keeping with 20th century American standards and expectations.

It is entirely possible that joint school and social service centers would have beneficial consequences for the education of the school children. Many variables--economic condition, life-style, family structure, health and psychological disposition of the children, their families, their friends and their neighbors--are significant in the learning patterns of children. Alteration of these life-circumstances are likely to result in an alteration of educational attainment.

Democratizing the Administration of the Social Services

Another beneficial consequence of having school/social service centers in neighborhoods is the possibility of having parents intimately involved in the centers. There are a variety of ways in which they might be involved, ranging from symbolic participation aimed at co-optation and control to complete client control of the center. Perhaps the most constructive approach would be that of a partnership between local adults and the professional staff of a center.

Community participation in planning activities and in the making of policy decisions is necessary if a true partnership is to exist. The involvement of parents and other community members as para-professionals or in volunteer roles which convey status would create a variety of opportunities for more direct and personal relationships between parents and professionals. These relationships are necessary to the creation of a community center *for* the community, as opposed to a center from which professionals dispense services. Such an attitude and an atmosphere can be generated, as was shown by the Human Resources Center in Pontiac, the Williams School in Flint, and in the New Haven community schools.

Cooperation between professionals and those they serve, focusing on areas such as medical services, job training and employment counseling, family services and legal assistance, is a realistic goal. The professionals benefit by coming to know the clients in more than one dimension. They gain an understanding of the multi-faceted needs of the client. The clients themselves benefit by developing or maintaining their own feelings of self-direction through having some power over the decisions that affect them.

Bringing social service professionals to the people they serve rather than having the people go to the professionals is a step in the direction of making social services *transactive* affairs which depend upon the interaction of client and worker rather than the traditional one-way dispensing of aid to the poor. Bringing clients into the decision-making processes that determine the operating procedures of social service agencies can render the professionals accessible and approachable as well as *accountable* to those they serve.

An added benefit which might result from community participation in administering the centers is that *client involvement might aid the clients in developing the skills necessary for handling their own problems*. "Doing for" people has proven dysfunctional. Just as professionals and clients can work together in administering a center, professionals and clients can work together toward solving problems of the client.

The Cost of a School/Social Service Center

One important variable in the creation of school/social service centers is cost. We no longer live in the age of affluence we thought we had in the 1960's. Any new program or reorganization of existent programs must take into account cost-benefit considerations. Ideally, all people in this country (if not in every country) would have an adequate diet, decent housing, access to necessary medical facilities, the chance of a good education and a patch of grass for their kids to play on. As a nation we have not made a firm commitment to the budgetary requisites for meeting these goals. Given the fact that we have a limited number of dollars to buy a plethora of desirable goods and services, does the integration of various social services and their decentralization into neighborhoods make sense?

First, integration of schools with some social services offers an opportunity for the sizeable dollar savings which would result from the more efficient use of public facilities. Multiple use of recreational facilities, auditoriums, libraries, and the after-hours use of schools for adult education and for community organizations are but some examples. Beyond the use of school facilities during non-school hours, we do not think that substantial savings can be realized. The employment, welfare, health and other kinds of facilities would have to be open during the day; separate spaces would have to exist if more than one group would need to have access to the facility at the same time of day. Still, the cost of creating school/social service complexes would probably not be greater than that of creating separate, geographically unrelated facilities. Operating and maintaining the facilities probably would result in some marginal cost increases in terms of administrative and staff efficiency.

We base this conclusion on the Abt Associates Study of Comprehensive Neighborhood Centers.* The Comprehensive Neighborhood programs emphasized decentralization of social services in an effort to create neighborhood centers. The two most frequent physical decentralization costs were found to be additional direct costs for staff or facilities and less efficient program operation due to a lack of central supervision. Additional costs for staff and facilities were found in 40% of the centers they investigated and additional costs engendered by less efficient staff operation were found in 20% of the centers investigated.* Some of these extra costs were offset by reduced time and travel costs for the users of the services. 60% of the programs examined by Abt reported such savings.

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*Abt Associates. Comprehensive Neighborhood Programs: Policy Analysis and Conclusion, op. cit., p. 15.

Perhaps the most significant cost factor associated with integrating health, welfare, and other daytime social services with schools is that of increased cost resulting from increased useage of the services offered. The Director of the Family Services Program at the Kennedy School in Atlanta estimated that there had been a rise of between 10% and 20% in the number of new welfare cases. She attributed this increase to having a family services office in an area where there had not been one before and to the added referrals which developed from greater cooperation among the various social service agency employees.

This kind of cost increase must be interpreted in terms of short-run versus long-run costs and benefits. In immediate terms, an increase in the number of welfare and other social service clients will increase the total cost of social service programs. But if these programs are successful, it will mean a reduction in the number of clients. The avowed goal of nearly all social service programs is to aid the client to become self-sufficient. Employment counseling and job-training programs offer self-sufficiency as a rather immediate goal. Physical health clinics are not expected to fulfill their mission and then no longer be necessary to the client, but an increasing emphasis is being placed on preventative health and health education. This emphasis can pay off in terms of a lessening of the total demand placed on the health clinic. Mental health facilities do have as their goal self-sufficiency of the client.

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*Ibid.

The largest number of public welfare clients are children. Children become adults. Good schools and good supportive services for the family have not been tested as deterrants to the trans-generational dependency many welfare families encounter. This is because the children of truly poor families have not had access to good schools and good family services. If these things work for at least a portion of the children, the savings would be enormous. The public cost of supporting a child into adulthood, continuing to support him and then his children is astronomical, even given the meagre welfare standards of support. A break in this cycle offers rewards in terms of cost reduction far beyond the initial cost of providing the break in the cycle.

We are not saying that integrating school/social service centers in neighborhoods is the trick that will bring utopian dreams into reality. We are saying that in many cases, it can improve the quality of the school and of the social services. It can also increase the numbers of people who have access to these services. Integrated school/social service centers are one promising reform worth trying in many circumstances.

Where Do We Go From Here?

In attempting to create a guide to the greatest dividends likely to result from such centers, we must begin by saying that we do not recommend that they be created everywhere and under all circumstances. A major area for further work is the development of determinants indicating where integrated school/social service centers are most likely to succeed. We can formulate significant questions about where and under what circumstances such centers would pay the greatest dividends.

First, we would ask whether it makes sense to plan and construct comprehensive facilities where schools and social service facilities need to be rebuilt anyway, or whether non-capital construction factors far outweigh building considerations in significance. The role of the racial characteristics of the neighborhood being considered as a site for a school/social service center also needs to be explored. We would like to look further into the question of whether location in an area where the population is generally integrated or at the interface between black and white neighborhoods would contribute the most to the improvement of race relations. It is possible that by providing a new and common focus for an area and a common ground for discussion and interaction, cooperation between the races would ensue. It is also possible that an integrated center would be viewed with distrust and hostility by members of both races.

Factors such as the availability of public transportation and the proximity needed to ensure accessibility to services also needs further exploration. The age of the school population is another significant variable. We would ask whether elementary schools provide the most appropriate setting because they reach both parents and children as early as possible in the child's developmental process, or whether secondary schools would in some cases be able to offer a wider range of services to a more diverse population.

In addition to the development of a systematic checklist of criteria for determining where and when it would be profitable to establish integrated social service programs, we believe there are several other aspects of the concept that need to be studied in greater depth. For one, little is known about the often highly personal and inter-personal ramifications of integrated services. The potential for institutional jealousies and rivalries, prompted by power and authority sensitivities, are almost limitless. These conflicts can be neither avoided nor ignored. If not dealt with they can devastate the most ingenious and progressive facility arrangements. The key operational issues revolve around the personal and working relationships among professionals and para-professionals in the same service area, between professionals working in _different_ service areas, and _between_ the professionals and the _community_. We feel that it is urgent that a major research effort be conducted on the development and analysis of new forms of organization for integrating social services. More experimentation is also needed with integrated social service projects which are based upon non-categorical organizational structures.

Another major area for further work is on the comparative advantages and disadvantages of having schools involved in integrated social service centers. There are some extremely compelling reasons why schools should be intimately involved; but there are also some very compelling reasons for thinking that inclusion of schools could, in some communities, be disastrous. We need to know much more about which schools in which communities offer the highest payoff in terms of integration with other social services.

Conclusion

Americans have traditionally held a near-reverential attitude toward public education. As with religion, there has been a separation between general powers of government and the administration of the schools. One consequence of this separation is that the school has tended to be an aloof "temple of learning," a facility which is used for only those activities closely associated with a stringently defined educational process. One of the potentially significant facets of the current ferment in American education is a questioning of the propriety of the narrow utilization of public educational facilities as well as the recognition that more than simply teaching the three "R's" must be done by the schools if those three "R's" are to be learned. In part, we have asked whether contemporary schools can again approach the multiple roles filled by the "little red school house" in an admittedly simpler society. Our research has led to the tentative conclusion that they can. We intend to explore the question in greater detail.

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APPENDIX A

Case Studies

John F. Kennedy School and Community Center--Atlanta, Georgia

The John F. Kennedy School and Community Center is a 5 million dollar project located in the Nash-Washington Community, one of the poorest neighborhoods in Atlanta. Primarily the brainchild of John W. Letson, Atlanta Superintendent of Schools, the functional three-story structure houses a middle school accommodating 1,000 students, recreation facilities, and twelve community agencies, with a previously constructed neighborhood health clinic nearby.

This exemplary model of social service integration opened its doors in February, 1971, and has remained open on a seven-day-a-week, twelve-month-a-year basis. The Center planning and funding efforts are examples of cooperation among different agencies serving the community. Design of the Center involved such diverse groups as the Atlanta Housing Authority, Atlanta Parks Department, Atlanta Public Schools, Economic Opportunity Services, John Portman and Associates, Architects, and several others. It does not appear from the information we received that there was extensive community involvement in the initial planning. Assessment of the needs and services required in communities of lower social-economic levels was carried out before construction. The neighborhood has high unemployment, marginal housing conditions, and one fourth of all residents have incomes below $2,000 per year.

Not all planning efforts for the school went smoothly. A neighborhood resident who owned property on the proposed site refused to sell.

He organized a group of Negroes in Atlanta to fight the school's progress. With the support of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, they filed suit in federal court to stop the school building.

Thomas and his backers contended that homeowners were unnecessarily being displaced and that the school should be built in another neighborhood where it could be racially integrated. Thomas lost the case and today the school is located on his property and is 99% black in racial composition.

Funding of the Kennedy Center was another problem. The resulting financial plan reflects the cooperation of many individuals and groups including the Superintendent of Schools and the Board of Education, a private foundation (anonymous), the Mayor and Board of Alderman of Atlanta, and HUD. Plagued by inflation and a cutback in federal spending, the Kennedy Center funding was a result of continued restudy and redesign. The final cost sharing was as follows:

School Board Funds	$3,162,000
Private Foundation Funds	600,000
Neighborhood Facilities Grant	1,300,000
	$5,062,000

The building itself is rather elaborate and impressive. It could probably have been built at somewhat lower costs. The square foot cost was $20.05. The social agencies which are housed in the facilities cover their own operating costs on a prorated basis. None of the agencies were required to contribute to the initial costs of the building.

The agencies have continued their independent organizational structures and modes of operating; however, the community center director is very aware of the need for overall coordination of the facility and regular meetings of agency directors are held. There are also monthly "get togethers" for all center staff personnel. A number of staff members who have participated in these gatherings expressed very positive feelings about them and felt they helped the operation of the center. One effect of these meetings is the increased personal knowledge of the functions of agencies and their staffs, which in turn has increased referral of clients to other agencies which can assist them with specific problems. These inter-staff "personal contacts," may be the most important product. What would seem most desirable here is an informal organization which pays little attention to the formal organizational authority lines.

In conversations with the staff at the Kennedy Center we found mostly positive--occasionally effusive--reactions to the Center and to the concept of integrating social services. Mrs. Peggie Church, an Economic Opportunity Atlanta community organizer, indicated that she felt her clients were using more services due to the location factor. She also felt that she could serve her community better because of the integrated facilities. This was also true of the family services office. The director of this office indicated that the location of the services in the building made it easier for referral of her clients. She also guessed that the number of welfare recipients had increased about 10% to 20% as a combined result of integrated social services and having welfare services geographically more accessible.

The facility is located on 5.1 acres (soon to be expanded to 17 acres through development of an adjacent park). The middle school occupies 100,000 square feet. The community facilities, including agency offices and recreation services, utilize an additional 125,000 square feet. Structurally, the building is on a steep grade which allows for entrance on all 3 levels and separates the school facilities from the social agencies. The school facilities are based on the open classroom plan and allow for flexibility in programming. A full sized cafeteria serves meals to everyone including community members, visitors and center staff. Services offered at the Center include social welfare, day care facilities, training for mentally retarded, social security, legal aid, municipal information services, vocational education rehabilitation programs, and adult education programs.

Dr. Letson, the Atlanta Superintendent of Schools, was deeply committed to the concept of the community school when he came to Atlanta in 1970. As superintendent of schools in Chattanooga, he had taken school board members and community leaders to Flint, Michigan to see the Flint model community school program. He repeated this in Atlanta. The clout and personal connections of Dr. Letson, we speculate, were indispensable to the success of the Kennedy Center.

Whether the Kennedy Center will meet the multitude of social and community problems which abound in the surrounding neighborhood is unknown. They are attempting to meet the needs of the total individual in a comprehensive way.

The program has not yet been subject to serious evaluation. This is understandable since it has been in operation less than a year. Initial response to the Kennedy Center has been so positive that two more service centers are being planned on Atlanta park-school sites. Close analysis of this project could provide significant evaluative data. From our site visit it was difficult to tell what effect the community center was having on the students in the middle school except that they were enjoying the new building and the attention of numerous visitors. Center staff indicated that the children were helpful in getting information home to parents. Several social service professionals mentioned that the greatest difficulty in achieving cooperation among the administrators of the various components was engendered by the school people. We did not see this as criticism of the school administrators, but as an indication of some essential differences between services which deal with adults and those that deal with children.

Sources include:

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Quincy School Complex--Boston, Massachusetts

A new school is needed for Boston's downtown South Cove urban renewal area to replace the 120 year old Quincy Elementary School. The South Cove area includes the Tufts/New England Medical Center, the city's Chinese community, the garment district, the theater district, and a neighborhood consisting of restored federal homes. There are four major socio/economic/ethnic groups that the school and community facilities are intended to serve. The most immediate is Boston's China Town. Another is Bay Village, the area of restored federal homes. Most of the Bay Village families are professionals. Castle Square, a large public development also within the proposed sphere of the center, houses blacks, Puerto Ricans, Cubans, Armenians, Jews and Greeks. Back Bay, an upper and upper middle-class residential area is included although it is not likely that Back Bay families would use the public schools and other community facilities available.

The site consists of 2.5 acres. So many agencies competed for the small parcel of available land that land costs rose to $7.00 per square foot or $300,000 per acre. The land squeeze caused the urban renewal planners to assign only 2.5 acres to the Quincy School and the Tufts/New England Medical Center for married student housing. Neither the school nor the Medical Center had sufficient land for their own purposes so they decided to share a building. From the outset, close ties between the school and the Medical Center, especially in the area of schooling of physically handicapped and hospitalized children, were envisioned. Over the course of several years of planning which included the involvement of local communities, the idea grew into something beyond merely sharing a building by a school and an apartment house.

A survey of Tufts/New England Medical Center personnel indicated that they would move back into the city and live in the proposed medical center housing if there was a good public school in the area. This was considered to be significant because Tufts/New England is in the midst of reorganizing itself as a permanent downtown facility.

Within the community the need existed for social and welfare facilities other than a school. Other facilities such as recreation, health services for the elderly, a branch of city hall, a drop-in center for school drop-outs and a community information center were to be located in the single school and housing structure. It was decided that they should not operate as distinct entities but should all be linked into a single operating environment as well as to the surrounding community. The center was to provide a focus for the entire area.

The complex was planned to be a private-public condominium constructed and owned by several different private and public institutions. Since joint ownership of a single structure was not legal in Massachusetts, a bill was put through the State Legislature to change the condominium law.

The resulting plan in its present form is a single structure of 17 stories, 5 stories of mixed school and other facilities topped by 12 stories of married student housing for Tufts/New England Medical Center. At basement and ground level, the structure will house parking and community facilities, such as day care and health services. The school section is topped by a 25,000 square foot playground which is to be shared by pupils and tenants.

A number of problems have postponed groundbreaking to the point where the project may well be abandoned. Cost data is very difficult to come by because a major problem has been the fact that construction costs have risen astronomically since the project was initiated. Tufts/New England Medical Center and the Public Facilities Department of the City of Boston have been unable to accept the architect's plans because they are too expensive. Construction could not begin until a subway station had been built under the site. The architects now claim that to build over a subway station necessitates greater expenditures. Tufts/New England contends that married student housing capital costs must be kept to a realistic limit given what married students are able to pay for housing. It was planned that the community facility capital costs would be subsidized by Tufts/New England Medical Center.

The Chinese community has complicated the financial problems by refusing to apply for HUD "poverty-area" money to which they are entitled. They are unwilling to accept the "poverty" designation. The original intention was to build mixed open-occupancy housing with a leasing program for low income housing.

As great as the financial problems are, they represent a small part of the problems that exist. Before the property itself could be razed, extensive relocation of hard-to-relocate tenants had to occur. Most of the tenants were small merchants belonging to a community that has been "squeezed to the wall" by urban development of the freeway and public facilities type.

The difficulty of relocating these merchants is merely the tip of the iceberg of resistance to the project within some segments of the Chinese community. The Chinese are frustrated at having their neighborhood gradually eroded. The Massachusetts Turnpike Authority, the Department of Public Facilities and others have come, taken pieces of the neighborhood, and gone. Tufts/New England is in their midst now with a new plan for socially and economically enlarging the neighborhood while diminishing its physical space. Tufts/New England is the present target of Chinese anger at being pushed against the wall.

The Quincy School is now 100% Chinese. According to Massachusetts State Law, no school can be more than 50% non-white. The Chinese are not eager to share a school with the mixed racial group living at Castle Square (see above--blacks, Puerto Ricans, Cubans, Armenians, etc.). Given the fact that Chinese are considered non-white, the new school would still be more than 50% non-white, with Chinese predominating but not in the majority. The project was further delayed while the Massachusetts State Legislature tried to decide whether the proposed racial composition was appropriate to the spirit of the law. They decided in favor of the project.

Community participation in the planning process has thus been a time-consuming process. At present, all segments of the community agree that the facilities are needed. The Quincy School and Community Council was set up to insure that residents of the community would be integrally involved in making decisions about the project. It has had meager (compared to the duration of the proceedings) financial support from Title III funds, the Boston Redevelopment Authority and the Educational Facilities Laboratory.*

The leaders of the Chinese community are presently boycotting the Quincy School and Community Council and the Chinese American Civic Association is acting as spokesman for the Chinese.

It is doubtful that the project will be started because at this point it is almost certain that Tufts/New England will abandon their involvement in the project. The extreme inflation of building costs combined with the resistance of the immediate community has caused Tuft/New England's retreat.

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*William Pare of the Boston Redevelopment Authority is the source of our information about the Quincy School and Community Council, its financial status and the conflict surrounding it.

Sources: Telephone conversations with:

Felicia Clark, Urban Development Corporation of New York State
Herman Field, Department of Planning, Tufts/New England Medical Center
Leila Sussmann, Department of Sociology, Tufts University
Evans Clinchey, Director, Educational Planning Associates, Boston, Mass.
William Pare, Boston Redevelopment Authority
Robert Murray, Educational Planning Center, Boston School Department

The Williams School--Flint, Michigan

Since the 1930's, Flint, Michigan, with the support of the C. S. Mott Foundation, has been actively involved in the development of the community school concept in its city schools. The Williams School in Flint is thought to be a model urban elementary school project which illustrates maximum utilization of the central concepts underlying the community school approach to the solution of problems confronting urban education.

In June, 1967, the Flint Board of Education received an Elementary and Secondary Education Act, Title III grant for the purpose of developing a new type of elementary school--one which would be combined with social services in a concerted effort to address the total educational and social service needs of the local community.

The plan which was eventually agreed upon was based upon three interacting facilities,* including an elementary school for 900 children based on the "open education" concept, the 72-acre Whaley City Park (with indoor-outdoor swimming pool and ice skating facilities attached as part of the center complex), and the Community Improvement Services component where formal and informal classes, activities, and services are provided according to the expressed needs of the community.

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*Diagrams and maps of this center appear on pages A-19 through A-23.

Funding for the project was a cooperative effort:

Elementary School Component	Construction funds
Funding Source: Flint Board of Education Unit Cost: $12.83 per square foot Operating costs are paid from state and local tax revenues. Special experimental education programs will be conducted through special grants obtained through public and private sources.	$ 677,249.00
Recreation Component	
The project received $600,000 from the $100 million State Recreation Bond Program. The remaining $276,000 came from local funds supplied by the City of Flint Capital Improvement Program, the flint Board of Education, and the Mott Program of the Flint Board of Education. Operating costs are paid from local tax revenues.	875,998.78
Community Service Component	
Funding Source: HUD Neighborhood Facility Grant Operating Costs: Basic administrative costs will be provided by the Mott Program and the Board of Education. Agency program services available to the total city will be provided to local people through the Community Services Component. Special social services to meet specific needs of local citizens will require additional funding.	443,254.00
Total cost of construction	1,996,501.78
Acquisition of Property	
Funding Source: Flint Board of Education	557,950.00
Total Site Development Cost (not including the value of the existing 72-acre Whaley Park)	$2,554,451.78

Planning Process and Community Involvement

The Williams Community Education Center was the result of an extensive planning effort. At least one new school was needed because of the deterioration of the two existing elementary schools which served the area--Lewis and Roosevelt. The impending construction of a new highway through the area was a factor in the decision to combine the two schools in a central site which would serve both areas.

The Lewis neighborhood was largely white. Roosevelt was a predominantly black school. Neither the idea of consolidation nor the idea of creating a community school met with instant approval by the Lewis and Roosevelt communities and school staffs. However, the need for a new school, new recreation facilities, and a new social services facility in the neighborhood encouraged the residents to work together. Additional impetus for cooperation resulted from discussions and weekend retreats with teachers, parents and students of the two existing schools. The conferences were held in advance of school construction. Involvement of the two racial groups from the outset and the gradual emergence of a mutual understanding of both their different and common problems appears to have been a necessary step for the success of the planning process.

Apart from agreeing to the consolidation of the schools, the community was minimally involved in the development of plans for the school component. The residents were very active participants in the creation of the community services facility. They have continued to be actively involved in operational planning. Planning for this facility began only after the school component was well underway. A Citizen Advisory Board was established as an outgrowth of the development of the school component. The Advisory Board gave advice on the direction of the Center and contributed to the extensive "assessment of needs" upon which the final plans were based.

During the final planning stages of the Community Services Component, the Advisory Board met twice a month with numerous community-wide agency consultants to discuss the priorities and the feasibility of services and programs they had proposed for inclusion in the multipurpose facility. The Advisory Board also had access to statistical data concerning the characteristics and potential needs of the community. This data--some current, some 6 or 7 years out of date--included the following:

1. Statistical data on social service grants for residents of the area.
2. Age and sex distribution.
3. Educational background of adults.
4. Employment data of residents
5. Housing information--home value; single, multiple, or trailer dwellings.
6. Number of persons per household in area.
7. Number of cars per household.
8. Ethnic and racial background.
9. Health related data.
10. Juvenile delinquency information.
11. Adult crime information
12. Big Brothers matched pairs.
13. Existing services in the area and distance in time for travel.
14. Utilization of community-wide agency services by residents.
15. Awareness of services by residents.
16. School census information.

The Board then directed its attention to (1) identifying those community problems which needed to be addressed through expanded citizen participation, and (2) conducting special events to bring awarenss of the problems to the total community.

The following services were planned for inclusion in the Community Services Component:

I. Community Education Services

   A. Adult basic education and adult high school classes
   B. Consumer education instruction
   C. Job training programs
   D. Senior citizens programs
   E. Enrichment programs

II. School-Community Services

   A. Neighborhood meeting place
   B. Community learning and study center
   C. Community referral service
   D. Extension branches for community-wide agencies
   E. A "continual center" for community action and information
   F. Programs and services for juvenile delinquents and juvenile delinquency prevention
   G. Child care center
   H. Transportation services

III. Community Health Services

   A. Expanded school children's health services
   B. Community health referral services
   C. Planned parenthood information and instruction
   D. Nutrition education, consumer education, and homemaker instruction
   E. Pre-natal care and well baby clinic
   F. Para-professional health-related training programs
   G. Dental health education and services

Prior to the completion of the facility, some programs were started by the Advisory Board, community agencies, and school officials to deal with some of these problems:

1. A monthly newsletter was mailed to 2,300 community residents, cooperating agencies, and to interested persons to inform them of available programs.

2. Drug abuse sessions were held at Williams School involving public health, policy, and pharmaceutical groups and citizens.

3. A Juvenile Delinquency Prevention Program was established. A youth counselor was hired to work with parents and youth.

4. A heart diagnostic clinic offered a free heart diagnostic examination of residents. Referrals followed the exams.

The next stage of community participation which Wayne Neirman, former project director, sees as important, is the inversion of the present administrative triangle where the few at the top dictate the behavior of the many at the bottom. He believes that administrative processes should be reformulated so that the needs of clients determine the services which are to be provided.

Evaluation

The Williams School appears to have succeeded in actively involving community members. Still, there is some doubt on the part of those involved about whether a real "sense of community" exists in the Williams neighborhood. The 38-member, racially mixed advisory Board played an important role in program design. A survey of Board members indicated general satisfaction with their contribution. Of those responding, 80% felt that their experience indicated that community problems must be dealt with and solved by local residents. However, some members of the Community Advisory Board do not believe that it is truly representative of the area. All of the members agreed that planning community programs was the most important responsibility of the Advisory Board. Finally, all of the members believed that the Board should continue to examine problems affecting the well-being of the community, and should continue to insure that the priorities of the community were being addressed.

We conversed with three members of the Advisory Board. All demonstrated positive reactions to the Williams School and the involvement of community members. Two of the people we talked with believe that they have significantly influenced some decisions made in the planning of the community services component. They find that the professional staff of the center is very open to community suggestions. The third person expressed the opinion that local educators and politicians had great power in planning the school component. She felt that community residents had more influence in planning for other components of the center. All three of the community people agreed that the residents of the area are participating in Williams' programs. One persons suggested that residents of the former Roosevelt area are more actively involved than are residents of the former Lewis school neighborhood.

Wayne Nierman offered the following generalizations from his experience in developing the Williams Community Education Center:*

1. The community needs to be involved in the direct assessment of their own community and involved in designing solutions to overcome their problems. He adds that a "catalyst" is often needed to help the community reach a better state of affairs, and this is the ideal role of a community school director.
2. The professional staff also must be able to help provide catalytic leadership, particularly in data collection, analysis, development of measurable behavioral objectives, efficient and effective program implementation, and a useful evaluation scheme.
3. "Needs" must be defined beyond the levels of assumption at the very beginning and must be analyzed and defined in terms of specifics, individuals, or groups whose behavior warrants specific modifications.
4. Timing can be important. If a new school is to be built or if new experiments are to be tried, the community school concept might be considered. However, short time frames are often necessary and limit total citizen involvement.
5. If citizen involvement is to be responsible and responsive to citizens' needs, then citizen roles must be articulated in order that their authority is not usurped by the Board of Education or any other group.
6. Project organizers need to be aware that involvement of citizens in planning considerations and in assessment of community needs can require considerable time. In turn, this can cause delays in funding or even difficulty in obtaining funds.

Conclusion

The Williams School Center appears to be operating successfully, although it has not escaped all of the problems facing new schools, particularly those attempting to become racially integrated. Coordination of social agencies appears to be proceeding smoothly although there has been some difficulty with one professional organization. There have been positive indicators of cooperation among the three components of the center. For example, a hot lunch program is provided for the school children by the social service component, the schools' physical education department is sharing swimming and ice skating facilities with the Park and Recreation component, and the Parks and Recreation component is helping to set up outdoor science labs for the school. The effects of these beginning efforts on the quality of the instructional program and the physical well-being of students are still untested. They need to be examined and evaluated as does the entire Williams project.

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*Wayne Nierman, "T. Wendell Williams Community Education Center for Coordination of Community Resources," Community Education Journal, Vol. II, No. 1, p. 49.

Sources:

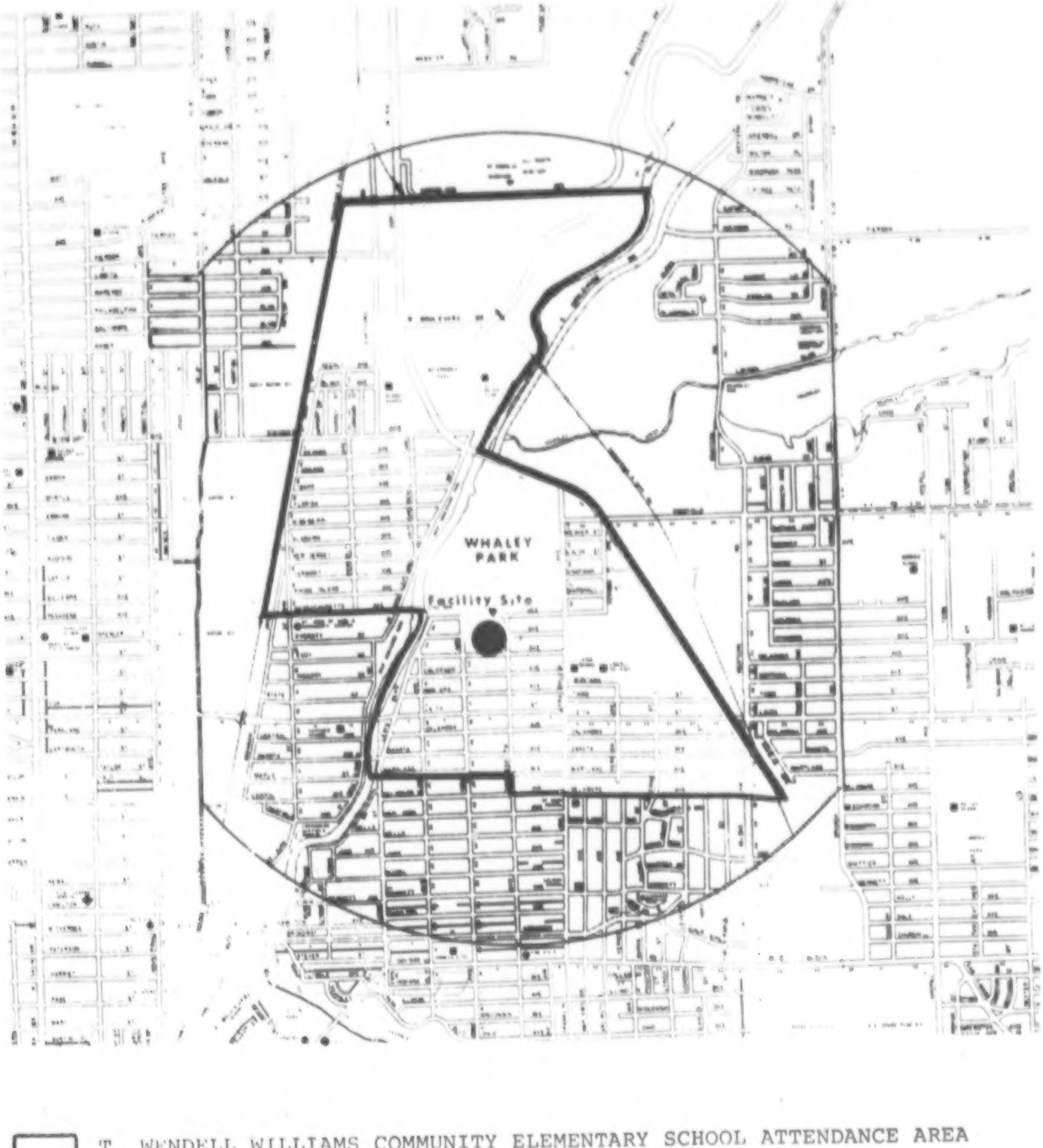
Final Report to E.S.E.A. Title III from Williams School to USOE, August 31, 1971.

Site visit by a member of the Educational Policy Research Center Staff.

Conversations with:

- Larry Briggs, Mott Program Administrator
- David Beavers, Project Coordinator, 2/68 - 10/68 (Mr. Beavers was the first chief administrative official and project coordinator responsible for the overall early direction of the project. He left this post when he was promoted).
- Wayne Nierman, Chief Administrator of the project from 10/68 to 8/71.
- Jack Hudson, Current coordinator of the community services component.
- Mrs. Frances Pavelich, Community Advisory Board member.
- Mr. Thomas Johnson, Community Advisory Board member.
- Mrs. Betty Schwagert, Community Advisory Board member.

WILLIAMS COMMUNITY EDUCATION CENTER

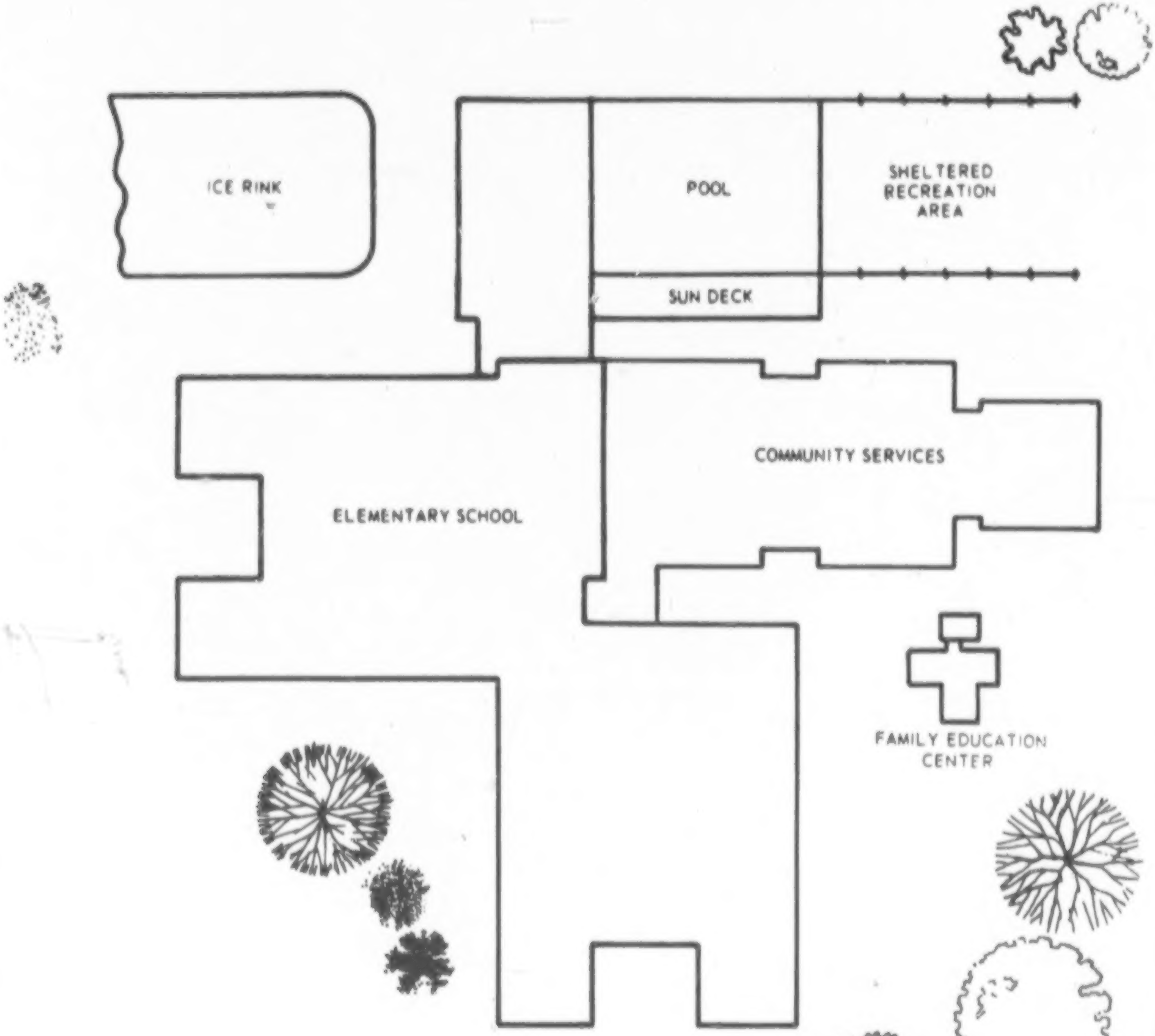

WHALEY PARK
Facility Site

▭ T. WENDELL WILLIAMS COMMUNITY ELEMENTARY SCHOOL ATTENDANCE AREA

COMMUNITY SERVICES FACILITY SERVICE AREA

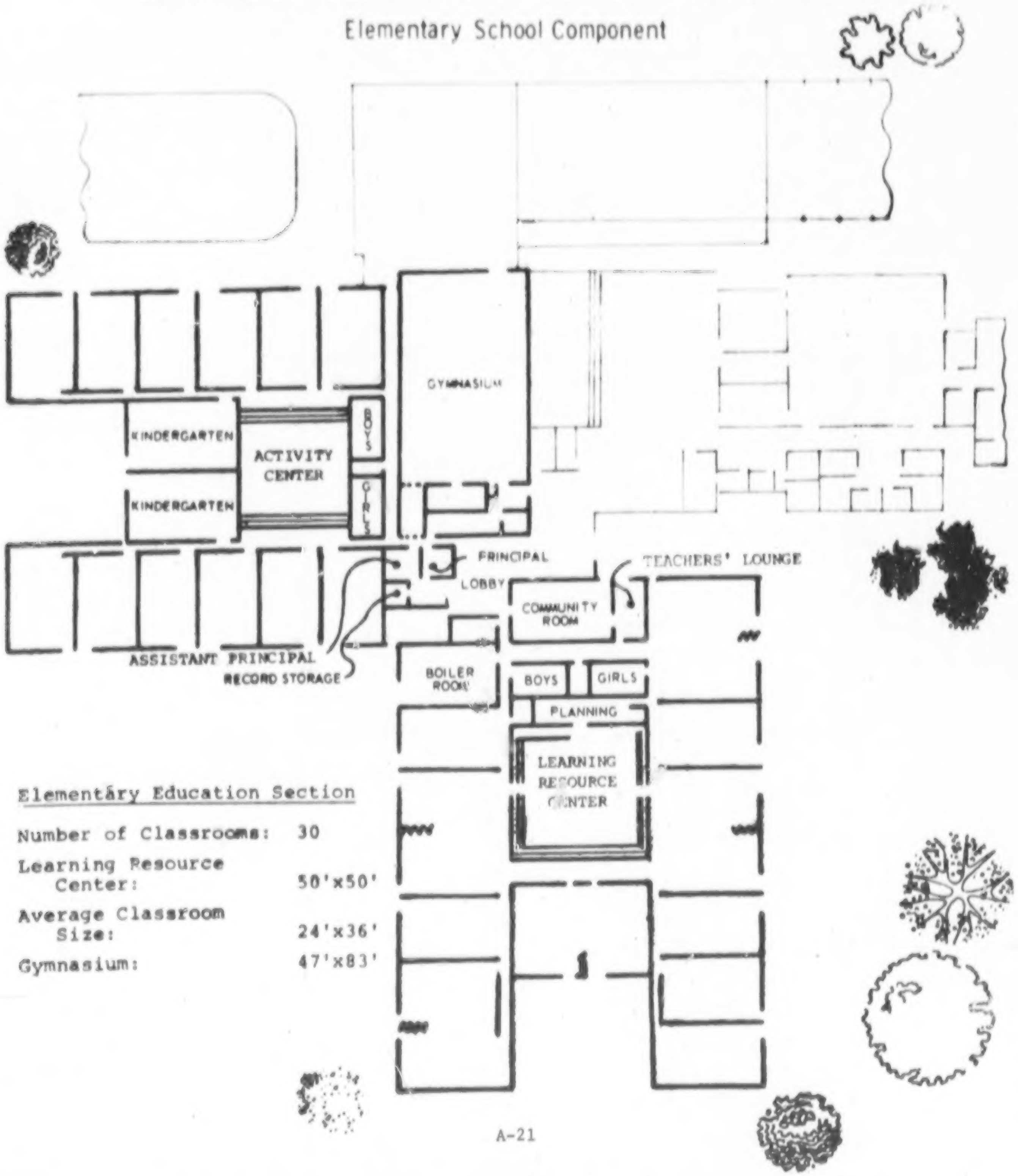
● WILLIAMS COMMUNITY EDUCATION CENTER FACILITY SITE

WILLIAMS COMMUNITY EDUCATION CENTER


ICE RINK
POOL
SHELTERED RECREATION AREA
SUN DECK
COMMUNITY SERVICES
ELEMENTARY SCHOOL
FAMILY EDUCATION CENTER

WILLIAMS COMMUNITY EDUCATION CENTER

Elementary School Component

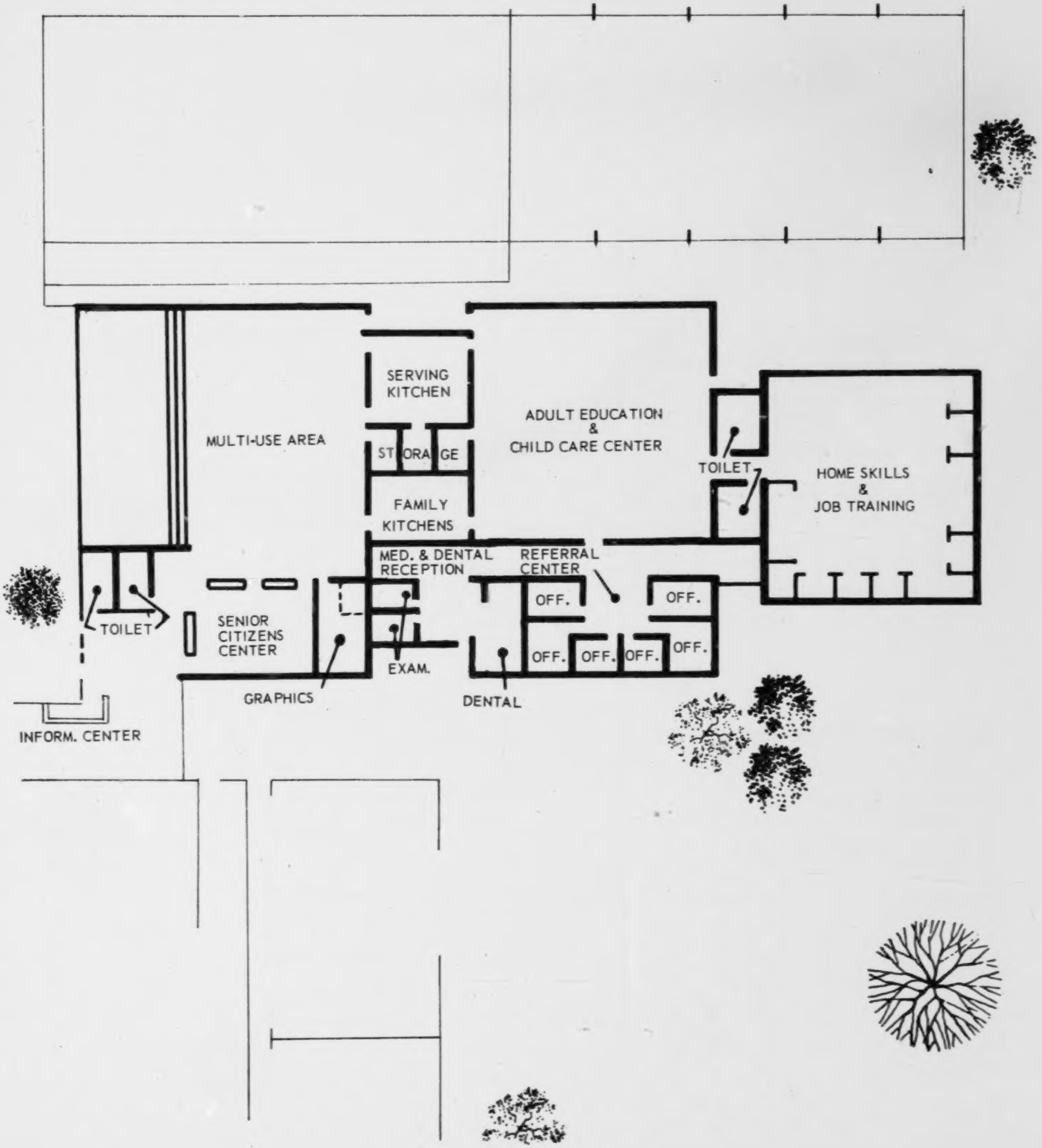

GYMNASIUM
KINDERGARTEN
ACTIVITY CENTER
BOYS
KINDERGARTEN
GIRLS
PRINCIPAL
LOBBY
TEACHERS' LOUNGE
COMMUNITY ROOM
ASSISTANT PRINCIPAL
RECORD STORAGE
BOILER ROOM
BOYS
GIRLS
PLANNING
LEARNING RESOURCE CENTER

Elementary Education Section

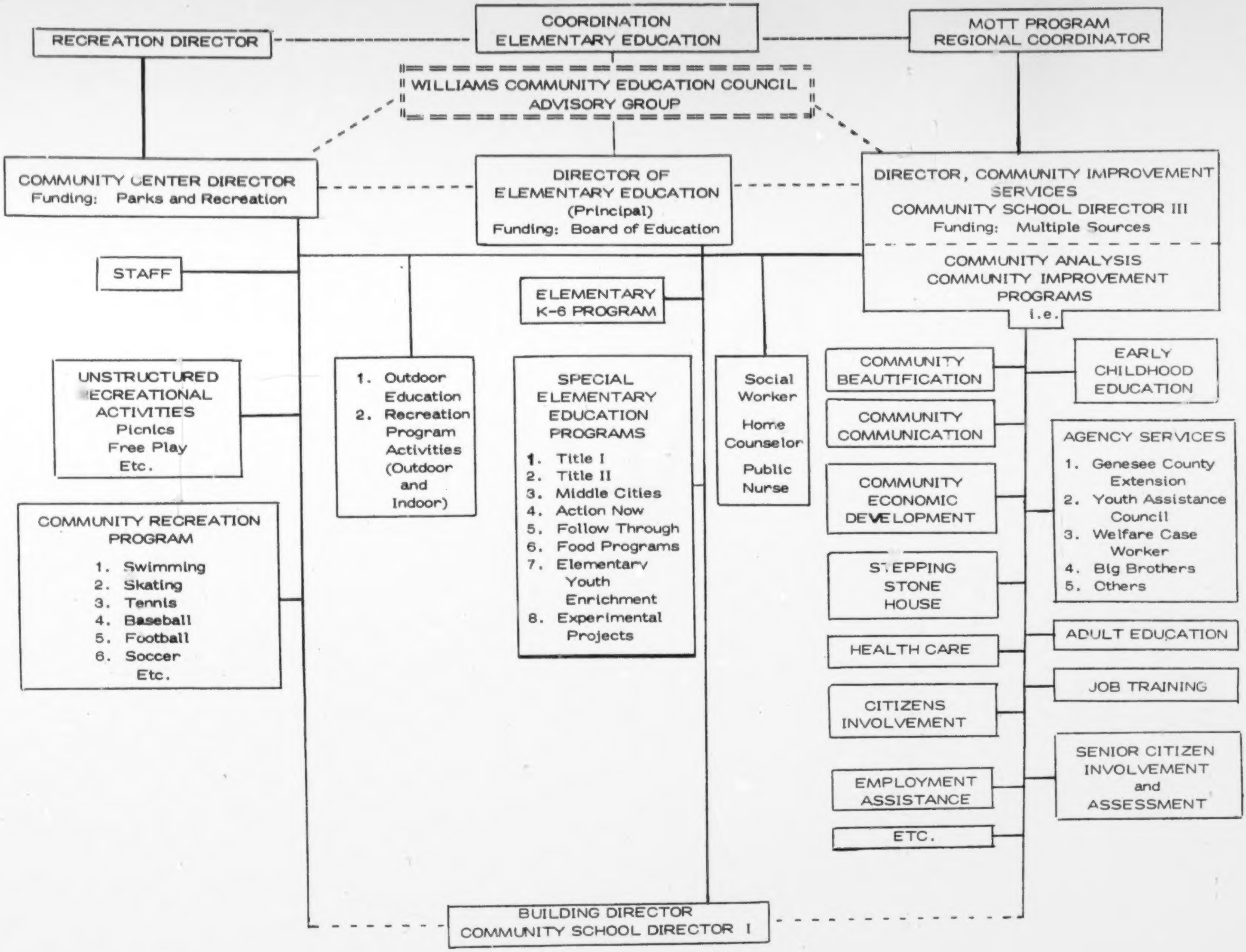
Number of Classrooms:	30
Learning Resource Center:	50'x50'
Average Classroom Size:	24'x36'
Gymnasium:	47'x83'

WILLIAMS COMMUNITY EDUCATION CENTER

Community Services Component



SERVING KITCHEN
MULTI-USE AREA
STORAGE
ADULT EDUCATION & CHILD CARE CENTER
TOILET
HOME SKILLS & JOB TRAINING
FAMILY KITCHENS
MED. & DENTAL RECEPTION
REFERRAL CENTER
OFF.
OFF.
TOILET
SENIOR CITIZENS CENTER
OFF.
OFF.
OFF.
OFF.
EXAM.
GRAPHICS
DENTAL
INFORM. CENTER


RECREATION DIRECTOR
COORDINATION ELEMENTARY EDUCATION
MOTT PROGRAM REGIONAL COORDINATOR
WILLIAMS COMMUNITY EDUCATION COUNCIL ADVISORY GROUP
COMMUNITY CENTER DIRECTOR Funding: Parks and Recreation
DIRECTOR OF ELEMENTARY EDUCATION (Principal) Funding: Board of Education
DIRECTOR, COMMUNITY IMPROVEMENT SERVICES COMMUNITY SCHOOL DIRECTOR III Funding: Multiple Sources
COMMUNITY ANALYSIS COMMUNITY IMPROVEMENT PROGRAMS
i.e.
STAFF
ELEMENTARY K-6 PROGRAM
UNSTRUCTURED RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES Picnics Free Play Etc.
1. Outdoor Education 2. Recreation Program Activities (Outdoor and Indoor)
SPECIAL ELEMENTARY EDUCATION PROGRAMS
1. Title I 2. Title II 3. Middle Cities 4. Action Now 5. Follow Through 6. Food Programs 7. Elementary Youth Enrichment 8. Experimental Projects
Social Worker Home Counselor Public Nurse
COMMUNITY RECREATION PROGRAM
1. Swimming 2. Skating 3. Tennis 4. Baseball 5. Football 6. Soccer Etc.
COMMUNITY BEAUTIFICATION
COMMUNITY COMMUNICATION
COMMUNITY ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT
STEPPING STONE HOUSE
HEALTH CARE
CITIZENS INVOLVEMENT
EMPLOYMENT ASSISTANCE
ETC.
EARLY CHILDHOOD EDUCATION
AGENCY SERVICES
1. Genesee County Extension 2. Youth Assistance Council 3. Welfare Case Worker 4. Big Brothers 5. Others
ADULT EDUCATION
JOB TRAINING
SENIOR CITIZEN INVOLVEMENT and ASSESSMENT
BUILDING DIRECTOR COMMUNITY SCHOOL DIRECTOR I

Madison Park High School--Boston, Massachusetts

The Madison Park High School was planned to be an integral component of a new "urban village" in lower Roxbury. The urban village would consist of an elementary school, a comprehensive high school for 5,000 students, housing, commercial sites, social service facilities, a performing arts center and public parking lots. The social services to be included are preventive health care, child care, family counseling, legal aid, and employment guidance. The entire village is to be governed by the residents of the community. The urban village is intended to be linked by public transportation and highway to other major arterial roads serving the area. The complex has been in the planning stage for five years.

Phase I of the school is now under construction. It consists of two academic houses, a full complement of physical education facilities, administrative areas and facilities for a technical education program. 3,000 students are expected to attend the school when Phase I is completed in 1974. The completion date for Phase II is undetermined and some question exists about whether it will be completed. It is planned to consist of two more academic houses, a performing arts center and a fieldhouse. In total, the Madison Park High School is expected to cost about 40 million dollars and to comprise approximately 100 million square feet--or between 150 and 175 square feet per student, an unusually large amount of space.

One factor inhibiting progress is the need to relocate present users of the land. The local community, which has been intimately involved in all phases of the planning, insisted that no dwelling units be razed until the inhabitants were relocated. Eight acres are now available. Another 8 acres will be available as soon as the new housing is ready. Sixteen acres of the proposed site are presently in industrial use. The City of Boston has submitted a proposal to HUD for the funds to buy the land.

Land acquisition, however, has not been a problem, especially in view of the cooperation and support of the lower Roxbury area residents.

Problems do not stem from community resistance to the project. The most significant difficulties revolve around providing access to the site. The plan, as originally formulated, was based on Cyril Sargeant's "Pittsburgh Great Schools" study and report. The site itself was chosen because it is not in any neighborhood. It was planned that "inner-belts" and the proposed Southwest Freeway would provide access to the site. In addition, public transportation would have to be extended so that students could get to and from the school. It was hoped that Madison Park High School would exert a "magnet effect" in a black area much as Boston's Trotter School now does. Although the Trotter School is in a black neighborhood, 46% of its students are white. It is a "super-school" offering all sorts of beefed-up programs funded in large part by E.S.E.A., Title III funds. It is modeled after the Lestershire (open classroom) program.

From the School Department's standpoint, access to Madison Park cannot be provided without public transportation and the Boston School Department has had "trouble" all the way to Washington in getting funds for public transportation. When a spokesman for the Boston Redevelopment Authority was asked why public transportation to augment the Metropolitan Boston Transportation Authority was needed, he said that it was absolutely unthinkable to send several thousand students through the Dudley Subway Station each day. The Dudley Station is located two blocks east of the site.

School buses are not a solution because the City of Boston does not have school buses. The Massachusetts State Department of Education requires that $5.00 be spent on busing for each pupil in the district before any state aid be given for busing expenditures. Small towns in

Massachusetts bus most of their children and reach the minimum expenditures, but the City of Boston does not qualify.

All school construction in Boston has currently been halted because of the problems of racial imbalance. Both the federal government and the Commonwealth of Massachusetts have frozen funds to the Boston School System over alleged failure to comply with state and federal integration regulations. The federal and state government do not believe that Boston, despite the insistence that Madison Park will be racially integrated, is doing enough to break up the over-all pattern of segregation in the Boston public schools.

The transportation problem is major. In the end, it may thwart the construction of Madison Park High School as a part of an urban village. New high school facilities are needed and this need must be met soon. It is quite possible that the Boston School Department will devise some other plan for schooling the 2,000 students originally slated for enrollment at Madison Park.

Sources:

Telephone conversations with Robert Murray of the City of Boston's Educational Planning Center and William Pare of the Boston Redevelopment Authority.

Office of Program Development, Boston Public Schools, "The Secondary Education Complex: Preliminary Planning Document," Parts One and Two, undated.

Welfare Island--New York City

A plan with goals and intentions similar to those implicit in school/social service integration projects is being created on Welfare Island in New York City. The Welfare Island strategy is quite different. Instead of bringing the various social services together in one place, the Welfare Island plan involves integrating education and the social services into the local community. Toward this end, the decision was made to decentralize and disperse the educational, health, recreational, family services, day care, special services for adolescents and the elderly, adult education, and other services throughout the Island.

Welfare Island is somewhat unique in other ways. First, it will be a "new town" or "new community" of about 18,000 people, which will be constructed on a largely undeveloped island in New York's East River. Second, it is being planned and constructed under the auspices of the New York State Urban Development Corporation, an extremely powerful public body. Third, it is an unusually well-contained or well-defined community--a small island--where nothing will be more than about a fifteen minute walk from anything else. Fourth, like many other "intentional new communities," it will be racially, ethnically, and economically integrated.

The Welfare Island approach to social services and education appears to be based on two entirely complementary principles. First, social services should be an integral part of the community life. They should not be shut off in their own little enclaves, but should interact with each other and the rest of the community. This can make them more responsive to their clients' needs. Welfare Island represents a pioneering experiment in this area. We are not convinced that sufficient "reality planning" has been conducted on the innumerable ways that "things can go wrong."

In large part this is an unavoidable problem facing the planners of new towns: they are planning in a vacuum.

There is a second rationale for this "shotgun" method of locating education and social services. It is less expensive. There is a very deliberate attempt to share facilities, thereby reducing both capital and fixed operating expenses. This appears to be especially true with education. For instance, instead of having both school auditoriums and theaters, Welfare Island will build a unit or units which will serve both needs. The expected result will be better equipped theater-auditorium facilities at a lower total public cost. The same principle lies behind the plan for Welfare Island recreational, food service or restaurant facilities, adult or community education, and medical care.

Current proposals call for the establishment of a public service corporation (PUBCO) which will be composed of Welfare Island residents, and would own and operate the various "public spaces" or facilities, leasing them to users. PUBCO would be responsible to the residents, and would be charged with ensuring the continued integration of the social service system. It could also function as an "ombudsman" of sorts. In addition, a "service connector unit" is being programmed to provide information, referral, and follow through for efficient delivery of all social services.

"Community participation" in the planning process was, of course, impossible. Instead, an advisory group--The Joint Planning Committee for Welfare Island--has been formed, representing: the New York City Board of Education, Office of the Chancellor; Council of Supervisory Associations; United Federation of Teachers; Community School District No. 2; New York City Human Resources Administration, Office of the Commissioner; and the New York State Urban Development Corporation. One of the major problems so far, according to officials at the Urban Development Corporation, is the lack of funds for professional planners. They feel that additional planning is especially necessary in the area of integrating social services. To date they have developed the broad, conceptual framework for services, but feel that further work of a much more specific nature is necessary.

Sources:

Interviews with:

Felicia Clark, Urban Development Corporation of New York State

Evans Clinchey, Director, Educational Planning Associates, Boston, Massachusetts

Buffalo Waterfront School and Community Center--Buffalo, New York

The New York State Urban Development Corporation is currently completing the advanced planning stages of a new housing-school-community center project for Buffalo's Waterfront urban renewal area. Construction is underway on the 2800 apartment units which will eventually house some 10,000 residents. The community will be racially and socio-economically integrated. The first units are occupied. Completion of all units is expected to take five years.

The Buffalo Board of Education has determined that a new 1440 student elementary school (kindergarten to eighth grade) will be needed to serve the redeveloped area. The Urban Development Corporation began creating plans for a more advanced approach to integrating various services with the school to produce a community center facility. The underlying theory was that an integrated services center would prove more accessible and more useful to the community than would a number of scattered and unrelated services.

Cost-savings has been the primary argument the Urban Development Corporation has employed in trying to persuade the School Board and other public and private groups to support the proposed center. For example, the following presentation was made to the Buffalo Board of Education:*

> Potential Savings to Board of Education--City of Buffalo
>
> UDC proposes to provide the initial financing for the entire non-classroom elements and facilities of such a Community

---

*Proposal for Waterfront School and Related Community Center Facilities, New York State Urban Development Corporation, August 13, 1971.

Center complex. To translate the meaning of this approach and its impact on school funding, the following analysis is set forth:

Minimum Shared Facilities

Space Use	Sq. Ft. Area(1)	UDC Cost Est.(2)
Homemaking	3,600	$ 111,600.
Demonstration Living Room	450	13,950.
Health Area	960	31,680.
Shops	4,500	148,500.
Arts & Crafts	2,100	69,300.
Art Room	1,800	59,400.
Gym & Locker Area	10,500	367,500.
Natatorium	6,800	238,000.
Total	30,710	$1,039,930.

Maximum Shared Facilities

Auditorium	8,100	283,500.
Balcony	6,000	210,000.
Cafeteria	7,200	252,000.
Kitchen Services	2,700	94,500.
Storage	2,400	84,000.
Faculty Dining	1,200	42,000.
Community Storage	1,350	47,250.
Library-Media Center	19,000	665,000.
Total	47,950	$1,678.250.
Total Maximum	78,660	$2,718.180.

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(1) Square foot areas calculated from space use shown in schematic plans of Board of Education architects, Hess and Gorey.

(2) Cost estimates derived from National Standards and current cost experience in comparable cities ranging from $31.00 to $35.00 per sq. ft. related to type of space use.

Potential Savings to Board of Education*

As indicated in the foregoing analysis, there is a potential reduction in the Board's immediate construction funding

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*Ibid.

> requirements of from $1,039,930. to $2,718,180. by reason of UDC providing the initial capital funding for all shared facilities. The Board's interest in, and use of, such facilities would be met through a lease instrument that would include payment of a portion of the debt retirement on UDC's capital funding as taken up in a subsequent paragraph.
>
> For the purpose of this proposal review, it is assumed that school use of shared facilities would require an approximate 40% time allocation. It therefore follows that 60% of the cost of maintenance and operations of the shared facilities would be relieved from the school budget and charged to other users, all of whom along with the school would support the cost of maintenance and operation through lease instruments.

Present plans call for the construction of a "starfish" shaped complex with four "arms" radiating from public open spaces in the center. One wing would house the classrooms for the elementary school. A second wing would contain the swimming pool, gymnasium, arts and crafts shops, and offices for the organizations sharing the facilities of this wing. One such organization is the Buffalo Boys' Club whose present facility is deteriorating and will need to be replaced within the next five years. A principal user of the third wing will be a day-care center for some 75 children ranging in ages from two to five. Present plans call for housing the health care and commercial units in the fourth wing. Discussions have been initiated with the Medical School of the State University of New York at Buffalo about operating the health maintenance program for all the residents of the Waterfront area. Dental, mental health, and full screening immunization programs are anticipated. The Medical School wants the emphasis to be on preventive care, and expects to apply for a federal planning grant for health maintenance organization. It is also expected that the Health Care Center would eliminate the need for a separate school health center. It is possible that private insurance companies would be involved in the operation of the Health Center.

Present plans also call for the provision of 35,000 square feet of commercial space in the complex, largely to serve the needs of the immediate Waterfront community. The Urban Development Corporation has specified that "No commercial space will be provided to businesses which would detract from either the Central Business District market or existing businesses in the immediate area. Only those businesses which are essential to a neighborhood of approximately 10,000 persons will be provided." If the plan is realized, the major user will be a supermarket, while other users might include a cleaning establishment, barbershop, hair dresser, delicatessen, and a hardware store. A local developer has been talked to about managing the commercial area.

The Buffalo Waterfront project is rather unique: it represents an attempt to develop a "new town" or "intentional community" in the middle of an old and deteriorating city. (If successful, its use as a prototype for emulation elsewhere will be complicated by the pivotal role played by the Urban Development Corporation.)

A number of obstacles have confronted those attempting to develop a school and community center for Waterfront. The Young Women's Christian Association, a large and very active civic group in Buffalo, had been expected to be a major participant in the Center. It recently decided to build its own separate facilities elsewhere. The funding available for the day-care center specifies very strict limitations on the incomes of parents. The result may be a socially and racially segregated day-care facility. There were also a large number of less major problems confronting the planners. Many of them involved administrative-bureaucratic resistance to the plan. For instance, the Buffalo public libraries have an obsolete regulation that they can close the libraries anytime that the outdoor temperature and humidity reach a certain point. This regulation holds even if the library is fully air-conditioned. School libraries, of course, have no such rules.

This archaic regulation has caused some problems in reaching agreement on a joint school and public library media center. The Urban Development Corporation officials that we talked to indicated that "administrative cooperation" is their biggest problem in proceeding with this project.

To our knowledge, there has been no major attempt to involve the community in the planning process for the Waterfront project. As with Welfare Island and all other "new towns," there is a considerable problem of defining or identifying just who constitutes or represents this "community."

Sources:

Interviews with:

Clare de M. Silverman, Urban Development Corporation of New York State
Felicia Clark, Urban Development Corporation of New York State.

Proposal for Waterfront School and Related Community Center Facilities, New York State Urban Development Corporation, August 13, 1971.

Human Resources Center--Pontiac, Michigan

A petition signed by 300 parents asking that the 69 year old McConnell Elementary School be replaced gave the original impetus for Pontiac's new Human Resources Center. Pontiac's Board of Education and City Administration responded to the petition and to the equally grave need to replace a half dozen other inner-city elementary schools by deciding that the schools needed more than just new buildings. Dana P. Whitmer, Superintendent of the Pontiac School System articulated the idea by saying:

> The replacement of these schools should do more than provide warm, attractive housing for school children in segregated neighborhoods. . . . Two schools were predominantly black, the other four were all white. If we can bring white and black parents and their children together in one setting with fully enriched educational, social and recreational programs, there should be a potential environment to improve the total living of residents in that quadrant of the inner city.*

From the very outset of planning for the center, full community participation was sought and utilized. The Board of Education approved a feasibility study on the proposed center. The City Commission passed a resolution endorsing city involvement. The Mott Institute for Community Improvement, a private foundation, provided a grant of $10,000 to begin the study. At the same time, a committee of 30 community members was formed to reflect community interests and attitudes. The members of the committee were chosen by the Parent Teacher Associations of the elementary schools involved. Thirty-three specific recommendations were offered by the committee. Thirty-two of these were incorporated into the plan. The thirty-third was the recommendation that a swimming pool be built as part of the complex. Cost factors precluded the implementation of this suggestion.

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*"Design for Regenerating a City," American Education, March 1970.

Urban Design Associates, a Pittsburgh based physical planning, urban design and architectural firm, was hired to plan the center. The Educational Facilities Laboratory in New York funded this phase of the planning. The structure itself, construction of which is not yet complete, is a single complex through which a broad pedestrian street passes. Along the street are located an elementary school, a theater for the performing arts, a 650-seat auditorium, a public restaurant, exhibition rooms, a library, adult education facilities, doctors' and dentists' offices, employment and social security counseling, P.T.A. conference rooms, administrative offices, small-group music auditoria, and a spectator gymnasium. The complex consists of approximately 175,000 square feet. Urban Design Associates chose the site with the specific goal of building the center in an area that would draw students of varied racial and ethnic backgrounds. The site is located in an integrated neighborhood that is a buffer between an all black and an all white neighborhood. They also created master plans for the quadrant of the city in which the complex is located. These master plans included traffic, landscaping, utilities, land use, and property acquisition studies.

The total cost of the structure was close to 5.5 million dollars. $4.5 million came from a local bond issue, $1.5 million from H.U.D. through a neighborhood facilities grant which paid for the day care center, the adult classroom space, and the medical-dental center, $200,000 from a Michigan State special education fund which provided six special education classrooms, and $200,000 from the city of Pontiac's Neighborhood Development Program for landscaping and crosswalks.

Legal constraints existed in getting these monies. HUD's neighborhood facilities money had never before been used for school construction. Pressure for policy change and modification was successfully exerted. The planners identified the kinds of spaces that were to be constructed and indicated who the users of these spaces would be. HUD's neighborhood facilities money paid proportionately more of the total cost for spaces used exclusively by the community as opposed to the school children. For example, the kindergarten and the pre-school is to receive 100% community use. (In the state of Michigan, school districts are not required to maintain kindergartens.) HUD paid 2/3 of the cost of constructing these. Similarly, the community theater is not related to the elementary school program, so again HUD paid a significant portion of the construction costs. Use of the gym will be divided equally between elementary school pupils and community members. HUD paid proportionately less of the costs of constructing this space.

Another legal obstacle existed in that Michigan law prohibited a local school district from accepting federal funds for construction of a school building. The legislature was prevailed upon to pass a new bill permitting school districts to receive federal funds for school construction.

It is impossible to evaluate the success of the center at this point because the only segment presently in operation is the elementary school and it has been open for only ten weeks. A point in its favor is the fact that it is an integrated school. It takes students from four previous elementary schools. One was predominantly black, one integrated, and two were predominantly white. Thirty-eight percent of the students at the new school are black. Pontiac is currently under court order to desegregate its schools. The Director of the Human Resources Center feels that the court order gives him flexibility in maintaining this racial balance.

The teaching program is innovative. The school will operate on a non-graded continuous progress plan combined with a form of team teaching. A learning center has been set up and is operated by special education personnel for pupils with academic, emotional and physical disabilities. The special students are in regular classrooms for some parts of the day and spend others in the learning center. Most students have some time each day in the learning center even though their specific disabilities may be so minor as to preclude their being considered "special." Students may spend as little as 15 minutes or as much as two hours per day in the learning center.

The children will be divided into 3 levels--upper elementary, lower elementary, and kindergarten. Each of these schools will occupy its own wing while sharing recreation space, a cafeteria, and an auditorium.

A program of parent involvement with the school will be maintained from the pre-natal period through the school years of the child. A variety of means will be utilized to maintain this contact. They will include home visitations, phone calls and notes to parents, home-school liaison workers, urban league liaison workers, administrator-parent luncheons, and parent advisory committees.

The ratio of adults to children will be about one to ten. This is another reason why it is expected that the educational component of the Human Resources Center will be of a higher quality than that found in the conventional elementary school.

The social service components of the program are not yet in operation, but the entire complex of services to be available at the Center is expected to be operational by late spring of 1972.

The County Health Department has agreed to maintain a dental treatment facility and staff as well as a medical center. The medical center will be staffed by a public health nurse and will include an immunization program and a well-baby clinic. Other services will include legal assistance, employment assistance, training and retraining programs, public welfare, and family counselling services.

An advisory committee consisting of representatives from the community, school, city government, and the various public and private agencies which offer services to area residents will be established to provide coordination between agencies and to serve as a clearinghouse in an attempt to insure that the total needs of families are met.

Members of the community are making the selection of the agencies to be included. The Community Services Board, responsible for this task, consists of 12 parents from the 4-school area. The parents were selected by the Parent Teacher Associations of their respective schools.

A major reason that the Human Resources Center has been able to elicit the support of other community agencies is that the rent for the Human Resources Center quarters is being paid by the Center. Furniture for their offices will be provided as well. The only cost covered by the agencies will be that of staffing their Human Resources Center offices.

Sources:

Telephone conversations with Thor Petersen, Director, Human Resources Center, Pontiac, Michigan and David Lewis, Architect, Urban Design Associates, Pittsburgh, Pa.

William W. Chase, "Design for Regenerating a City," American Education, United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education, March 1970.

"Human Resources Center: Pontiac, Michigan: Providing for People," Office of School Community and Human Relations, Pontiac School System, undated.

Thomas Jefferson Junior High School and Community Center--Arlington, Virginia

and

Technical Education Career Center and Human Resources Center--Arlington, Virginia

Thomas Jefferson Junior High School and Community Center

The Thomas Jefferson Junior High School and Community Center in Arlington, Virginia, is a jointly-planned, jointly-funded and jointly-operated school and community center. In November of 1968, Arlington County voters, by a 3 to 2 margin, passed two propositions totaling $6,500,000 to construct a junior high school for approximately 1,400 pupils at a cost of $4,150,000 and community facilities for leisure time use at a cost of $2,400,000. The resulting community center is expected to be an educational plant with its primary focus on the middle years of youth. At the same time, it is to be a place with activities for all ages. The facility is intended to be a community growth center as well as a community "family room." The center will be heavily involved in adult education and recreation for all segments of the community.

Development of the site became the planners' first major problem since more recreational needs were expressed than could be developed on the available 26-acre tract. Because the budget would not permit complete surfacing of the grounds with Astro-turf type materials, the alternative of a greatly expanded field house of "controlled environment facility" was conceived: 68,000 square feet of completely enclosed, air-conditioned space. Multi-use surfacing will allow a variety of activities from athletic events to indoor picnics, concerts, and town meetings.

The site will be developed with the potential of future surfacing with all-weather materials. Also, the plan will allow for swimming pool(s) should the community choose to support them in the future. Passive recreation areas are to be distributed throughout the site for the use of senior citizens, small children and others seeking a park-like atmosphere. All of the normal junior high outdoor space needs will be met as well as provisions for additional community needs such as baseball, football and softball.

The structure will be a two level building. The school will be primarily on the upper of the two levels. Industrial art, art, business, and home economics will be at the lower level along with recreation and community facilities.

The auditorium will be a separate but connected structure. Seating 800, it will be possible to divide it into four separate spaces--a small theater seating 250 and three large group instruction or exhibition areas.

Three quite distinct schools are planned for the building. The total enrollment will be 1,400 with a single principal in charge of the entire facility. An assistant principal will be in charge of each of three smaller units into which the total will have been divided. Each of the three schools will have its own instructional spaces and administrative quarters. All will share science and language labs.

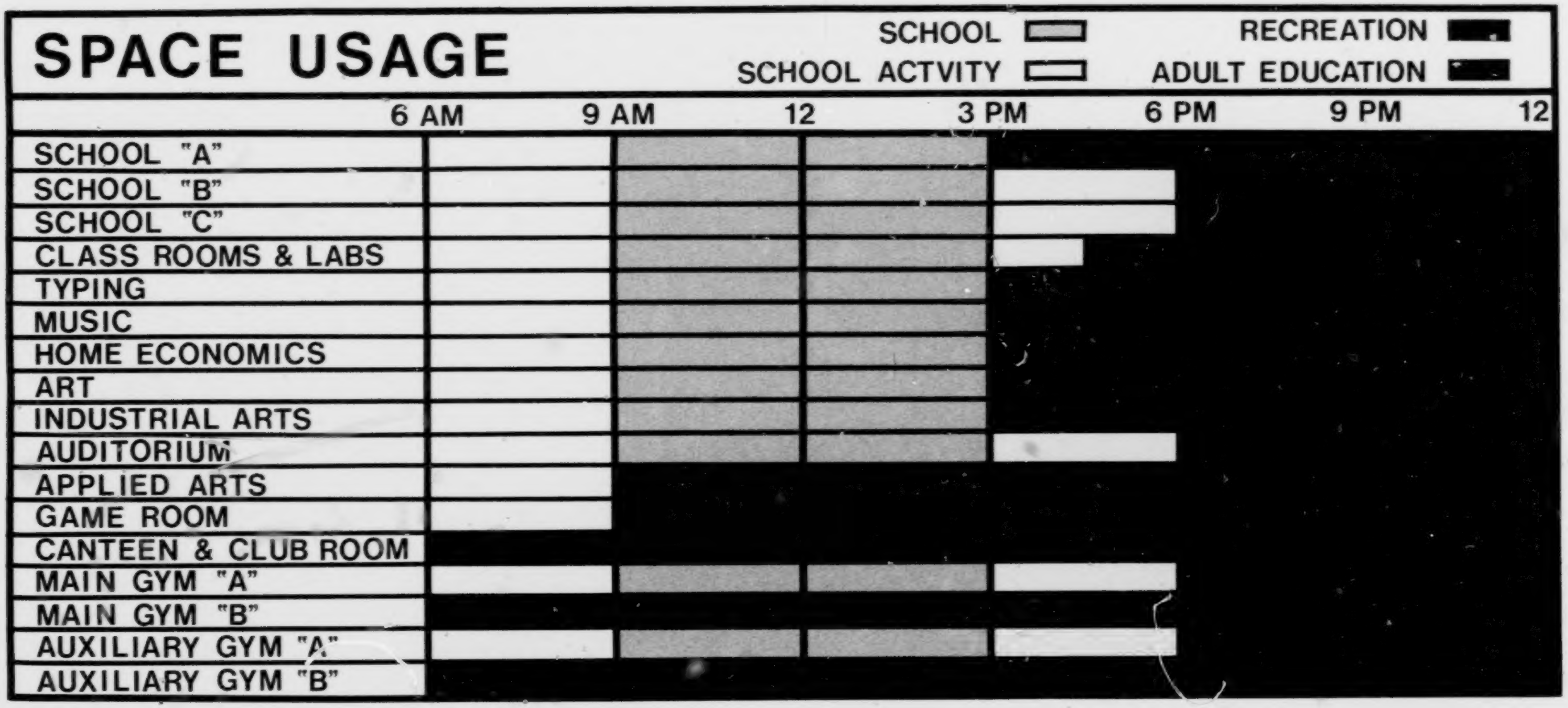
Loft type construction was decided upon in order to provide for future space rearrangements. The academic sections will be constructed on 5-foot modules with removable walls so that space arrangements can be altered on short notice.

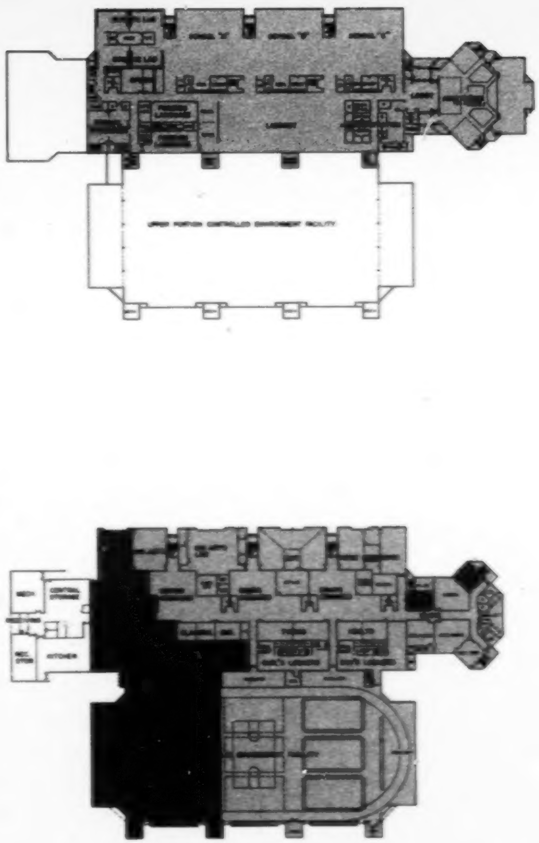
The present Thomas Jefferson Junior High School is the result of a previously segregated school situation. Integration was achieved by the merger of a former all black school with a former all white school in the early 1960's. Its present plant is comprised of two buildings approximately one mile apart. In 1965, with integration a sore subject, a referendum which would have provided a new junior high school failed. In the fall of 1966, a Citizens Advisory Committee which included some people who had been against the original bond issue, was appointed by the School Board and several alternatives for resolving the problem were considered. At the same time, other agencies and groups in the county were considering the prospect of using a 26-acre tract of undeveloped land for recreation and other purposes. They unsuccessfully sought federal assistance to acquire the land.

Conflict emerged between the school interests and the recreation interests which were competing for the site. Joint use of the site was proposed as a compromise. A bond issue to finance the concept was defeated by the voters in June of 1968. After the costs were recalculated and a swimming pool and proposed parking garage deleted, the tax payers gave approval in November, 1968. The site is now under construction.

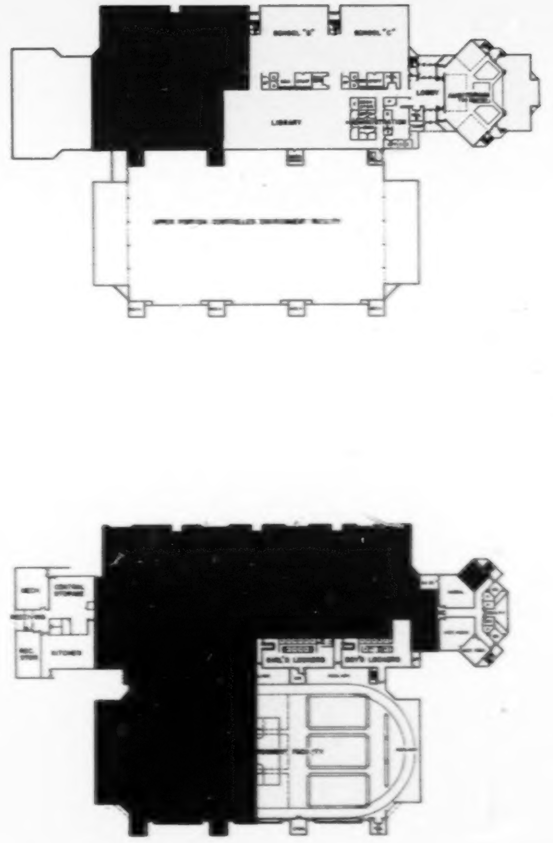
The following diagram was prepared by the architect for the project to show that the center will be used from early morning to late at night by different client groups. It indicates the special attention that was devoted to cost efficiency in developing the facility.

CI6695-U

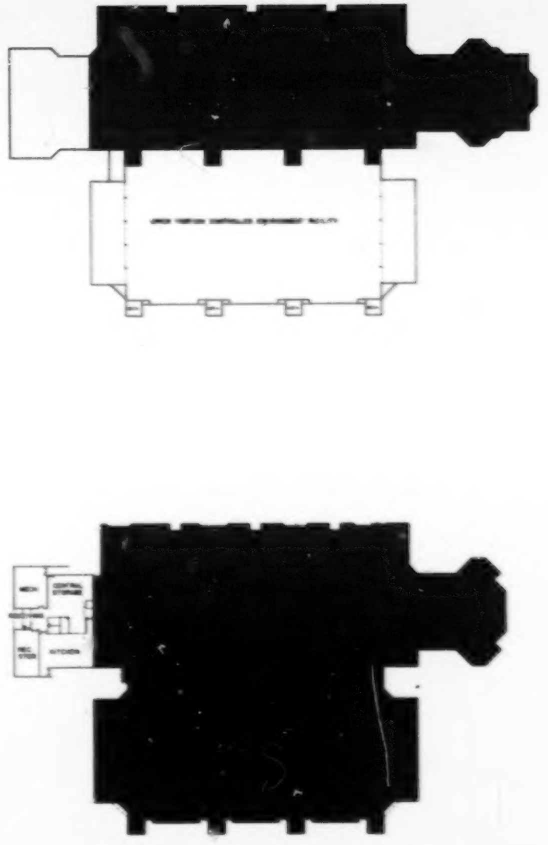

SPACE USAGE
SCHOOL
SCHOOL ACTVITY
RECREATION
ADULT EDUCATION
6 AM
9 AM
12
3 PM
6 PM
9 PM
12
SCHOOL "A"
SCHOOL "B"
SCHOOL "C"
CLASS ROOMS & LABS
TYPING
MUSIC
HOME ECONOMICS
ART
INDUSTRIAL ARTS
AUDITORIUM
APPLIED ARTS
GAME ROOM
CANTEEN & CLUB ROOM
MAIN GYM "A"
MAIN GYM "B"
AUXILIARY GYM "A"
AUXILIARY GYM "B"


LIBRARY
MECH
CENTRAL STORAGE
REC. STOR
KITCHEN

9 A.M.


SCHOOL "B"
SCHOOL "C"
LIBRARY
LOBBY
MECH
CENTRAL STORAGE
REC. STOR
KITCHEN
GIRL'S LOCKERS
BOY'S LOCKERS

4 P.M.


MECH
CENTRAL STORAGE
REC. STOR
KITCHEN

9 P.M.

Technical Education Career Center and Human Resources Center

In 1971, two additional bond issues were passed which will provide funds for the construction of a vocational-technical training center to augment the facilities of the Arlington High Schools. Students enrolled in all Arlington high schools will have the option of electing job-skill training for part of each school day at the Technical Education Career Center. Job training for adults will be conducted in evening classes. The Center will include a library to serve both the school and community. The library will feature technical materials in addition to serving as a general interest library. It will replace a rented facility in the neighborhood.

The Arlington County Division of Human Resources will provide preventive medicine and social services for residents of the neighborhood from a satellite center adjacent to the new Technical Education Career Center. The Human Resources Center will include day-care facilities, a mental health clinic, a dental clinic and a health clinic. A branch of the Arlington County Department of Social Services will be located in the building. The Center will also serve as an on-the-job training site for Technical Education Career Center students preparing for health related careers.

An elementary school serving approximately 600 students will also be erected on the site.

Construction costs for the Technical Education Career Center will total $4,600,000. The Human Resources Center will cost $850,000.

The Arlington Public Schools Department is presently engaged in developing plans for State Board of Education approval.

The final plan for the Technical Education Career Center and the Human Resources Center was less the product of conscious social engineering than of compromise between various factions competing for available resources. The plan for the school and center did end as a comprehensive approach to meeting the diverse needs of a minority segment of the community.

Sources:

Joseph Ringers, Jr., "Arlington's Junior High--Community Center Complex," paper presented at the 46th Annual Conference of the Council of Educational Facility Planners.

Telephone interview with Joseph Ringers, Jr., Assistant Superintendent for Finance and Business Management, Arlington Public Schools.

New Haven Community Schools--New Haven, Connecticut

The Conte School is one of New Haven's ten community schools and is its most outstanding example. With state aid for school construction and urban renewal funds, the designers put a K-8 school, a public library and various community facilities together on a two city-block site to create an educational complex geared to the larger community surrounding the school. It was opened in September, 1962. The school itself is square, two stories high, with 26 classrooms on one side, a gymnasium, a science lab and a swimming pool on the other. Offices are in the corner of the building. An underground passage connects the school building to a community-school auditorium. Across a broad plaza is a senior citizens' center which is linked to a branch of the public library. The complex is open 12 months a year, 7 days a week until 9:00 p.m. to all its citizens for all available activities. The programs include education for everyone from kindergarten pupils to senior citizens, activities involving group work, clubs, park recreation, swimming and many other activities for outside groups who use the center on a regular basis. Last year attendance at the school totaled 105,000 not counting the school children, the senior citizens or the patrons of the public library.

The community school concept in New Haven has had a long history marked by the insight of several enthusiastic supporters in positions of authority. As far back as the early 50's, Isadore Wexler, an unusually creative principal at New Haven's Winchester School, saw and acted on the need for the school to reach out to the community. The New Haven Redevelopment Agency was another local source of the move toward community schools in New Haven. The School Building Study, conducted by Dr. Cyril Sargent, then of Harvard University, recommended education on a 4-4-4 plan and that the ten proposed intermediate schools, grades 5-8, be community schools.

A particularly farsighted mayor, Richard C. Lee, realized that human renewal was the most significant factor in the extensive rehabilitation necessary in New Haven's inner core.

At that time in social history community involvement in planning for the community was a rarity. The decision to develop community school programs in New Haven came from "the central office." Later, particularly at the time the Conte School was in the planning, a great deal of community involvement was cultivated. Now every one of the ten community schools has active community councils with teacher, parent, student, community member and custodial department representation. Members of the councils are neither voluntary nor appointed but are all elected by their peers. The councils serve in a consulting and advisory capacity to the school principal.

At the time that New Haven began formulating plans for a community school program, the Ford Foundation agreed to contribute funds if the New Haven school people evidenced a similarly basic commitment. The City of New Haven agreed to provide the buildings and administrative staff. In turn, the Ford Foundation underwrote a total community school program at a cost of about 2 million dollars.

Since 1962, New Haven has had access to other kinds of money, particularly Office of Economic Opportunity and Title I funds. Every year more and more of the community segment of community school costs are phased into the regular school budget. At present, the greatest percentage of community school costs are paid by the City of New Haven. The rest is state and federal money which is channeled through Connecticut's State Aid to Disadvantaged Children Act. The greatest non-capital costs are for added custodial personnel. For each of the ten community schools in New Haven, this represents approximately $40,000 more than it would cost to run a non-community school. Of that $40,000 about $10,000 are recreation program costs.

The basic functions of New Haven's community schools are:*

1. educational centers--where children and adults have maximum opportunity for study and learning;
2. neighborhood centers for cultural and recreational activities--the schools serve as a focal point for community leisure-time activities involving recreation, group work, adult education, adult basic education, civic meetings, tutoring, senior citizens activities, arts and crafts, and drama;
3. centers for social services--where individuals and families may obtain health and counseling services, legal aid, and employment services;
4. centers of neighborhood and community life--institutions assisting citizens in the study and solution of neighborhood problems.

The greatest failure in the New Haven community schools has been the attempt to locate the "hard" social service agencies (employment, welfare, health, etc.) in the schools. Either the agencies do not want to be located in the schools because they prefer bureaucratic centralization or they are afraid of losing their autonomy. In addition, money has not been available to build the necessary facilities. Space for social services branch offices has not been a financial priority. Legal aid, the New Haven Redevelopment Authority and employment offices have been located in the neighborhoods, though not in the schools.

Another factor in evaluating New Haven's community schools is their lack of racial integration. All of the community schools are in the inner city, and of the 21,000 students enrolled, 57% are black and 9% Puerto Rican. No real effort has been made to integrate the elementary schools. In planning a new middle school, it was the consensus of the black community in which it was to be located that the school not be integrated.

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*"The Community School Program in New Haven," New Haven Public Schools, New Haven, Connecticut, October 1971.

Open enrollment exists in some elementary schools and some blacks have chosen to have their children placed in predominantly white schools, but no white parents have reciprocated.

Indicators of success exist, especially in terms of the use of the schools by community members. For example, in the 1970-71 school year attendance in all community school programs totaled over 300,000. This figure is an aggregate total and does not include the regular school population. In the summer of 1971 all community school programs and activities had an aggregate attendance of over 100,000 (including attendance in the educational summer school).

Another indicator of success is the fact that the ten community schools suffer little vandalism, especially as compared to inner-city schools in other cities. Pupils and other users of the buildings apparently have more respect for these facilities than is customary.

A valuable asset to the community school program is the fact that the upper echelon of leadership received their training within the program. It has been suggested that administrators trained within the program are more capable of responding to the needs of the community in making decisions and exercising power than are administrators who receive conventional training in school administration.

Sources:

"The Community School Program in New Haven," New Haven Public Schools, New Haven, Connecticut, October 1971.

Telephone conversations:

Gerald N. Tirozzi, Director of Administration/Supervisor of Community Schools, New Haven, Connecticut.

Jack Chasin, Supervisor of Community Programs, New Haven School Department, New Haven, Connecticut.

APPENDIX B

State and Federal Legislation on Community Education

Federal Legislation for Community Education: Senate Bill 2689*

As we noted in the body of the report, the community education movement is gathering support all over the country. Many urban, suburban, and and rural school districts have incorporated community school concepts into their programs. State and federal legislation reflects this trend.

On October 12, 1971, Senator Frank Church of Idaho and Senator Harrison A. Williams of New Jersey introduced into the Senate a bill, number 2689, The Community School Center Development Act, to promote development and expansion of community schools throughout the United States. Congressman Don Riegle of Flint, Michigan introduced a House Companion Bill HR11709 on November 10, 1971.

The stated purpose of the proposed legislation is "to provide recreational, educational, and a variety of other community and social services through the establishment of the community school as a center for such activities in cooperation with other community groups." "Community School program" is defined in the bill as a public elementary or secondary school which is utilized as a community center operated in cooperation with other groups in the community to provide recreational, educational, and a variety of other community and social services for the community that the center serves. (This definition is noted,for the concept of "community schools" varies in its definition from including recreational and educational functions in the school to including other community and social services.)

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*"Federal Legislation for Community Education," reprinted from the Congressional Record, in the Community Education Journal, Vol. 1, No. 4, November 1971, p. 8.

There are three substantive sections to the act:

Title I - Community Education Centers Grant

To make grants available to institutions of higher education to develop and establish programs in community education for training community school directors.

Title II - Grants for Community Schools

To make grants available to local educational agencies (defined in the bill as public authorities) for the establishment of new community school programs and the expansion of existing ones. Grants would also be available for the training and salaries of community school directors and the administrative and operating expenses connected with such programs.

Apportionment of funds would be based on a state population formula. In determining project grants the Commissioner of Education would consult with each state educational agency to assure support of a program suitable to that state. Payments would be made from that state's apportionment to any state educational agency selected by the Commissioner, in accordance with the specified conditions.

Title III - Promotion of Community Schools

The Commissioner would promote the adoption of community school programs by accumulating and disseminating information to local communities; appointing teams to assist communities considering community school programs; and establishing a permanent liaison between the community school district and the Commissioner.

Advisory Council

A Community School Advisory Council composed of 7 members would be established in the Office of the Commissioner to advise him on community school policy matters. The 7 members, appointed by the President, would have two-year terms.

* * *

From discussions with those staff members responsible for preparing the bill it appears that the present format of the act is a skeleton which might be altered depending on the testimony of experts at the Congressional hearings to be held early in 1972. It should be noted, for example, that the bill does not delineate approximate appropriation needs.

Excluded from the proposed bill are grants for capital improvement of facilities. At this stage, if the bill were passed, it would not finance physical changes in school buildings such as medical or dental suites or other structures needed by community service groups.

The State Legislation for Community Education*

FLORIDA COMMUNITY SCHOOL ACT OF 1970

The Florida Community School Act became law in 1970. It provides matching funds for community schools. The stated purpose of the act is "to provide state leadership and financial support to encourage and assist local school districts in the establishment of community schools." A community school program is defined in the bill as "the composite of those services provided to the citizens of the community, except for those services provided through the regular instructional program during normal school hours." "Community School Director" means a certified teacher, who is employed by a school district to promote, organize, coordinate, and direct a community school program.

Pursuant to the policies and regulations adopted by the State Board of Education, each school board may submit to the Commissioner a proposal for a community school grant. Applications for a grant must include:

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*Nick Pappadakis, "Financing Community Education," Community Education Journal, Vol. 1, No. 2, May 1971, p. 60.

1. A comprehensive plan which may include among others, activities for pre-school age children, after school activities for children and adults, and cultural enrichment and recreational activities for citizens in the community.
2. Estimates of probable attendance and total costs of the program.
3. A copy of the school board resolution indicating its intention to provide the total cost of the program in excess of the state grant and other anticipated sources of income.

4. Provision for a community school director for each school. The Commissioner may approve programs and has authority to distribute community school grants not to exceed one half of the salary of the community school directors, provided the total amount does not exceed $6,000 per school year per community school.

Priority in grants will be given to programs:

1. Serving the maximum number of persons within the limits of resources available.
2. Allowing for matching funds or for joint funding from federal government or other public or private sources including programs coordinated with the Department of Health and rehabilitative services which may be developed in conjunction with the community school program.

The community school director will have immediate administrative accountability to the school principal.

UTAH

Title: Statewide Community Education Program--1970

Purpose: Endorses Community School Concept

1. Use school facilities on a year-round basis--from the preschool to the senior citizen.
2. Reduce confusion and promote cooperation and forward planning between public and private services and public and private schools.
3. Provide for community-wide planning in order to cope with the needed changes.
4. Share in the preparation of citizen and volunteer leaders.
5. Provide opportunities for teachers to teach in the summer and extended school-day programs.
6. Give local districts assistance in the employment of a local community school director.

Eligibility:

1. A school district must send a description of the proposed community school program to the State Board of Education.
2. 1,800 students in grades K-12 are needed in order to be eligible to hire a community school director, but two districts can combine their enrollments. If there are 3,000 students, two community school directors may be hired.
3. Commitment must be made to in-service training of community school directors.
4. The State Board of Education will pay no more than one half the salary of a community school director, and never more than $6,500 of his salary.

Time Schedule:

30 community school directors first year--1970

20-50 community school directors second year--1971

200 community school directors third year--1972

$1,500,000 needed for Community Education, 1972-73

Funds Appropriated: $200,000

MICHIGAN

Title: Senate Enrolled Bill #86 of 1969.

Purpose: Same as Utah and Florida.

Definitions: Same as Florida, except

1. "Employed on a Full-time Basis" means employed by the district to carry out the duties of a community school director to the exclusion of other duties.
2. "In-Service Education" means a systematic series of activities designed to improve the knowledge, attitudes, and competencies required to fulfill the duties of a community school director or coordinator.
3. "Evaluation of Community School Program" means the use of valid methods for determining the kind and extent of activities as well as measuring their effectiveness as provided by a community school program.

Eligibility:

1. Up to $10,000 support for each community school director.
2. State grant cannot exceed 2/3 of the community school director's salary.
3. A school district must have 1,800 students in order to qualify for a state subsidized community school director. If it has 3,000 students, it is eligible for two directors.

Funding Agency: Michigan Department of Education

Funds Appropriated: $1,500,000

WASHINGTON

Legislation was proposed, but was not approved. Instead, a concurrent resolution was adopted which calls for a study of the community school concept.

APPENDIX C

The Community College and Community Services

Due to time constraints, we did not study in much detail the potential of community colleges as sites for integrating social services. There do not seem to be any a priori reasons why the location of integrated social services on campuses, particularly in urban areas, is any less feasible than the use of public schools. The nature of the target population and the service mix as well as the history of relations between the college and the surrounding community would seem to be key factors in making such a determination. Many of these institutions now provide a wide range of services to non-students or provide the facilities for such services, and the type of activity is viewed as a legitimate part of the mission of the community college. There was not time to review existing programs, so this section only attempts to suggest what is happening and what is possible.

The institutional mission of the community college is usually defined in terms of lower division college parallel programs, career or technical education and community services. Although community services in most cases refer to educational and cultural programs and activities rather than the core social services such as health and welfare, some institutions have moved beyond this definition. For example, Brookdale Community College in Lincroft, New Jersey, although only in its second year, has expanded its central campus to include a dozen community learning sites which are scattered around the county. These sites include an allied health center, a community learning center, an adjunct center and 10 extension centers. Moreover, the president of the college has indicated that these are still minor attempts in his plan to serve the community. He sees the need for great extension of the services offered before the "community college" will be more than another standardized school program serving a restricted segment of the population.

Although other institutions have developed programs in health care, family counseling and employment counseling, most community colleges provide only fragmented cultural enrichment programs in addition to their core educational programs. Steps in the direction of social service integration have been taken only in the context of equal opportunity programs or similar programs aimed at "disadvantaged" students.

Despite the ideological commitment to community service and the array of programs in existence, current policies in higher education are placing obstacles in the way of these activities. Among these are:

1. The increasing enrollment pressure on transfer programs in community colleges which affects the availability of space, time and other resources and alters the institution's image and goals.

2. The multiple functions assigned to the institution which include transfer education, career education, and non-credit adult education in addition to other community service functions. These programs all compete for scarce resources.

3. The loss of local autonomy resulting from integration into statewide systems of higher education and state master plans.

4. The increasing numbers of Ph.D.'s on faculties who encourage the emulation of the 4-year college and university, rather than community outreach programs.

5. Federal and state funding policies which encourage the development of physical facilities which resemble traditional college campuses and create psychic and often geographic barriers for some populations.

In short, many community colleges are being pushed or led into the domain of higher education with an accompanying reduction in their commitment to community service. Some involvement in the delivery of certain kinds of social services such as family and employment counseling, job placement and clinical medicine may help offset this tendency to join in the "academic procession." Some critics of current trends would prefer the community college to become a clearinghouse for educational services, broadly defined,rather than become part of the lockstep structure. A review of federal policy with respect to community colleges might suggest ways in which such a future could be rendered more likely.

APPENDIX D

University Centers for Community Education Development

ALMA COLLEGE
Mr. K. Hugh Rohrer, Director
Center for Community Education
Alma College
Alma, Michigan 48801
(517) 463-2141, Ext. 366

ARIZONA STATE UNIVERSITY
Mr. Thomas H. Mayhew, Director
Southwest Regional Center for
Community School Development
415 Farmer Education Bldg.
Arizona State University
Tempe, Arizona 85281
(602) 965-6185

BALL STATE UNIVERSITY
Dr. Joseph S. Rawlings, Director
Institute for Community Education
Development
Office of Extended Services
Ball State University
Muncie, Indiana 47306
(317) 285-5033

Regional Coordinators:
Dr. Ethan Janove
Dr. Ross Van Ness
Dr. Everette Nance
Mr. Lou Piotrowski

BRIGHAM YOUNG UNIVERSITY
Dr. Israel C. Heaton, Director
Regional Center for Community
School Development
281 Richards Building
Brigham Young University
Provo, Utah 84601
(801) 374-1211, Ext. 3664

EASTERN CONNECTICUT STATE
Dr. Roland G. Frank, Director
Northeast Community School
Development Center
83 Windham Street
Eastern Connecticut State College
Willimantic, Conn. 06226
(203) 456-1294

EASTERN MICHIGAN UNIVERSITY
Dr. Jack D. Minzey, Director
Center for Community Education
101 Boone Hall
Eastern Michigan University
Ypsilanti, Michigan 48197
(313) 487-2137

FLORIDA ATLANTIC UNIVERSITY
Dr. V. M. Kerensky, Director
Center for Community Education
College of Education
Florida Atlantic University
Boca Raton, Florida 33432
(305) 395-5100

NORTHERN MICHIGAN UNIVERSITY
Mr. John Garber, Director
Community Education Center
L115A-Longyear
Northern Michigan University
Marquette, Michigan 49855
(906) 227-2176

SAN JOSE STATE COLLEGE
Dr. Tony S. Carrillo, Director
California Center for Community
School Development
Room 423, School of Education
San Jose State College
San Jose, California 95114
(408) 287-1075

TEXAS A & M UNIVERSITY
Dr. Robert I. Berridge, Director
Center for Community Education
Room 110, Bagley Hall
Texas A & M University
College Station, Texas 77843
(713) 845-2620

UNIVERSITY OF ALABAMA
Dr. Delbert H. Long, Director
Center for Community Education
School of Education
University College
1919 Seventh Avenue, S.
University of Alabama in Birmingham
Birmingham, Alabama 35233
(205) 934-5371

UNIVERSITY OF OREGON
Mr. Larry L. Horyna, Director
Northwest Community Education
Development Center
1736 Moss Street
University of Oregon
Eugene, Oregon 97403
(503) 686-3996

UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA
Dr. Robert T. Frossard, Director
Mid-Atlantic Center for Community
Education
164 Rugby Road
University of Virginia
Charlottesville, Va. 22903
(703) 924-3625

WESTERN MICHIGAN UNIVERSITY
Dr. Gerald C. Martin, Director
Community School Development
Center
3421 Sangren Hall
Western Michigan University
Kalamazoo, Michigan 49001
(616) 383-1995

APPENDIX E

Law Enforcement As A Potential Service to be Included in Neighborhood Centers

A very crucial social service in inner-city neighborhoods is police protection. The plea for law and order is not confined to white middle class populations. Ghetto residents have long recognized that they themselves suffer most from the rising incidence of street crime. The Report of the President's Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders noted, after careful study and the assemblage of a large amount of data, that residents of inner-city neighborhoods list inadequate police protection as one of the most serious ways in which they are deprived of minimal public services.*

A possible solution to the alienation between city police departments and inner-city residents is to include police branch offices within neighborhood centers. It would be interesting, at least, to try. Perhaps closer communication between the police and the people would result in more mutual understanding of the others' needs and responsibilities.

In Syracuse, New York, as in a great number of other cities around the country, a pilot program has been inaugurated which attempts to identify certain patrolmen with certain neighborhoods and hold these patrolmen responsible for knowing the residents of the area and maintaining surveillance over the neighborhood. Members of the "Crime Control Teams," as they are called, are responsible for carrying the investigation of crimes through from the initial investigation to the arrest stage. Rather than fragmenting the process of patrolling high crime areas and investigating crimes that occur, one group is assigned to each area and provides all crime-related police services for that area. A longitudinal study of the attitudes of neighborhood residents toward the police is now under way. The first stage of the study involved querying community members about their feelings toward police before crime control teams were assigned to the neighborhoods. Ten months after the institution of a team, the neighborhood residents will again be interviewed. Conclusions have not yet been made because only the first stage of the study is complete.

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*Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, New York: Bantam Books, 1968.

There are advantages to be derived from decentralizing police departments and promoting closer contact between patrolmen and the residents they serve. An unstated assumption is that the patrolmen involved will deserve the kind of trust and respect from those they serve that is the goal of placing branch police offices within the school/community center. It is possible that the average patrolman will have more contact with law-abiding inner-city residents and will modify prejudices inspired by having dealt only with the criminal segment of the population.

Another unstated assumption is that the policemen themselves are not criminals. In many areas, it is perhaps unwise to make this assumption.

Community involvement in the decision to invite police to participate in school/community centers is absolutely necessary if the inclusion of police is to be beneficial and to be seen as beneficial by the residents of the neighborhood. It might be tried on an experimental basis with residents of the community having the authority to evaluate its success and exercise the option of disinviting the police after a specified period of time.

APPENDIX F

Using Mobile Units for Health and Social Services Delivery on School Sites

Over the years a number of experiments have been undertaken to determine the applicability of mobile units to education. This experimentation has covered a broad range of educational problems and many different types of mobile equipment. As yet, no large scale implementation of mobile units has resulted. Mobile Community Systems of Encino, California, an organization specializing in the design of mobile systems for delivery of health, educational, and other social services, offers the following five "standard mobility criteria" to get a rough measure of the potential for mobile units in any particular situation:*

A. Pupils involved in the activity are widely dispersed geographically--for example, blind students in a large urban area at a given grade level.

B. It is more difficult than normal for the students to travel (i.e., physical or mental incapacity or age).

C. There are too few relevant specialists to assign one to each school--the specialist and his equipment can be assigned to several schools.

D. The facility or its equipment is only used in a school for a few weeks each school year.

E. The cost of the mobile facility might be less than that of a stationary facility which is comparable in function.

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*The Development of Mobile Educational Systems of National Scope, 15910 Ventura Blvd., Encino, California, 91316: Mobile Community Systems, Inc., September 1971.

We looked at several examples of mobile units used at a school site to deliver other than basic educational services and measured them against the above advantages suggested by Mobile Community Systems of Encino, California, a firm specializing in the design of non-residential mobile units.

1. Delivering Dental Services*

A semi-trailer outfitted as a dentist's office is now being used by the Los Angeles City School District. This trailer contains a dental operating unit, an x-ray laboratory and storage area for x-ray and other kinds of records, and a business office. The initial cost of the unit was $11,700. Another $22,000 was spent for instruments and dental equipment. One dentist and one full-time assistant are assigned to the unit. The dentist's salary is $15,777 for the school year. His assistant is paid $4,500. Supplies run about $150 per month.

The services provided are cleaning and examinations, fillings, extractions, and applications of topical fluoride.

It is considered to be a pilot program and is funded by Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. The children served were chosen because their families were above the "poverty" level (and thus not eligible for other kinds of sponsored dental care), but below an income level that would enable their parents to buy dental care for them. The trailer is stationed at two different schools. One is a predominantly black school in the southeastern part of the city, the other is populated by Mexicans and is located in the northeastern section of the city.

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*Source: Conversations with Maurice O. Tyler, D.D.S., Coordinator, District Dental Services, Los Angeles City Unified School District.

Dr. Maurice O. Tyler, head dentist of the Los Angeles City School District, provided the authors of this report with the above information. When queried as to the advantages and/or disadvantages of providing dental care by the use of a mobile unit at the school site, Dr. Tyler said that the disadvantages were severe enough to render the program less efficient and practical than busing the children to a stationary facility. The hook-up required for the unit at the school site is very elaborate. It provides the mobile unit with sewage, water and power connections. The cost of installing the hook-up facility is $2,000 per school. The unit itself is a semi-permanent structure and costs $150 to be moved from one school to another, in addition to the cost of having the school maintenance people set it up. Dr. Tyler believes that it is too expensive to operate. Further, a great deal of time is lost in moving and reinstalling the unit.

Another disadvantage in the use of mobile facilities is the fact that they are vulnerable to vandalism. A mobile unit located on a school site provides an attractive target. A trailer is basically an aluminum shell which can be broken into with an ax. The doors on the Los Angeles unit were also aluminum. After it was broken into, they were replaced by steel doors anchored to the frame of the trailer.

The community served by the mobile dental unit has reacted very positively to the availability of dental care for their children. They would like to see the program extended. Dr. Tyler believes that there are alternatives preferable to the use of mobile units in delivering dental care to school children.

2. Basic Health Services*

The Department of Community Medicine at the University of Vermont's College of Medicine set up a mobile unit to provide screening examinations and immunizations to pre-school children. Advice and consultation with parents were also offered. The target population was the entire pre-school age group in a rural community approximately 20 miles from Burlington, Vermont. The average income of the area is low and most of the clients were from these lower income groups. This program was conducted during the summer of 1971.

The mobile unit was stationed in four different villages and spent two weeks in each. Treatment was not provided except for immunization and occasional minor emergencies. Patients with medical problems were referred to physicians. Little follow-up was included in the summer program. Beginning on December 1st, all children seen will be revisited to ensure that some action has been taken on the problems found.

Implementation of the summer program was the result of cooperation between a group of medical students at the University of Vermont, State Department of Health personnel, the Director of the Visiting Nurse Association, and the Vermont Association for the Crippled.

The mobile unit was loaned without cost by the Vermont Association for the Crippled. The Visiting Nurse Association paid for the services of a pediatric nurse practitioner. The College of Medicine provided three medical students who were on summer fellowships supported by the Public Health Service; a modest travel allowance covered transportation for the students and enabled them to supply transportation for their client families. The overall cost per child served by the program was $27. The new van, which will be used beginning January 1, 1972, cost $4,000. Remodeling to transform a conventional mobile home into an examination room increased the cost by another $1,000. The small size of the facility means that it can easily be towed by a car. The unit is self contained in terms of sewage disposal facilities and water. It needs only an electrical hook-up which is easily obtained.

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*Source: Communications with Dr. Charles S. Houston, M. D., Professor and Chairman, Department of Community Medicine, College of Medicine, The University of Vermont, Burlington, Vermont, 05401.

The major advantage of the mobile unit is considered to be the visible demonstration that medical service is being brought to the people, rather than made available only to those who seek care in an institution. Those involved in the program agreed that the psychological impact of the van was significant, particularly when coupled with the repeated home visits made by the medical students. A disadvantage of the mobile unit was thought to be the fact that treatment or even sophisticated diagnoses were not possible.

The group of people involved are considering adding these features when the program is resumed in January, 1972.

3. Jobmobile*

A jobmobile project, designed by the Maryland State Department of Education to demonstrate to local school systems the potential of short-term instructional programs, provides five-week, 50-hour courses at school stops in six of Maryland's Eastern Shores' nine counties. Two 40-foot-long trailers are equipped for teaching short-term courses in typing, auto tuneup, and merchandising. The objectives of the programs are to help the dropout get back in school, give the slow learner a chance for better grades, and offer training in marketable skills to the jobless. Programs are offered on a rotating basis in each of the counties during the school year.

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*Conversation with Charlotte Conaway, Maryland State Department of Education, Baltimore, Maryland. Walter Wood, "A Cargo of Career Education," American Education, October, 1971. Maryland State Department of Education, Division of Vocational and Technical Education, "The Jobmobile: A Key to Future Careers."

The project is paid for with funds designated for programs for disadvantaged persons through the Vocational Education Act. It is available to 30 students in each of the six counties. Students that participate must display one or more of the characteristics described in the definition of "Disadvantaged Persons" in the vocational education amendments of 1968.

During the summer months the mobile classroom in typing and auto tuneup is driven to Westover, a crossroads town in the Tidewater Country. At the Westover Elementary School, the mobile unit joins the program for migrants operated under Title I of E.S.E.A.

The total cost of each of the two mobile units was $18,000, fully equipped. However, the company that designed and built the units, Intermodular Structures of New Jersey, provided them at less than the usual price as a means of promoting the concept and the company. Replacement cost for each unit was quoted as $26,000 by the company. Another significant cost is that of staffing each unit with a teacher and an aid at $11,000 per school year per mobile unit. The moving cost is $35 per move. Materials and equipment replacement represent a small additional sum. The units are connected to the electrical systems of the schools served, so lights, heat, and air conditioning are paid for by the county schools. The maintenance people in the schools hook-up the unit.

The Director of the program, Charlotte Conaway, a vocational education specialist with the Maryland State Department of Education, considers the mobile program to have been successful in providing "shared services" over a large geographical area.

There are disadvantages. One is the difficulty of moving the unit--moving company delays, getting the electricity connected and disconnected, and securing (i.e., bolting it down) the instructional equipment in the unit. The mobile unit was very expensive. The square foot cost was considerably more than the cost of a typical classroom in a school building.

Another disadvantage, from the Director's point of view, is that public attention focuses on the mobile vans themselves rather than on the concept of short-term, specific goal oriented sequences of learning.

4. In-Service Teacher Training*

A mobile unit equipped with a central IBM computer instructional system and fifteen student terminals offers teachers in rural Pennsylvania a course in special education that will enable them to recognize and help handicapped children in regular classrooms. The unit is operated by The Pennsylvania State University under a grant from the United States Office of Education, Bureau of Education for the Handicapped.

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*Harold E. Mitzel, "Teacher Training Takes to the Road," Manpower, May 1971.

Carol A. Cartwright and Philip G. Cartwright, A Computer-Assisted Instruction Course in the Early Identification of Handicapped Children, College of Education, The Pennsylvania State University, University Park, Pa., undated also telephone conversations with Harold E. Mitzel, Associate Dean for Research, College of Education, Pennsylvania State University.

Approximately 2,000 teachers are expected to complete the course each year that the program is in operation. Flexibility is thought to be the greatest advantage of the Computer-Assisted Remedial Education (CARE) course. Instead of being tied to a schedule of 2 or 3 hour classes one night a week, teachers can schedule their lessons from immediately after school until 11 p.m., and nearly all day Saturdays and Sundays.

The cost of the mobile unit, completely equipped with fifteen computer terminals, was $500,000. Operating costs total $75,000 per year.

The only problem so far encountered is that of persuading administrators to free teachers during the day. For the most part, the mobile unit is not used during the day. This represents a waste of facilities.

The greatest advantage of the use of the mobile facility is the flexibility that permits a sophisticated program requiring complex equipment to be taken into a remote area where the population is widely dispersed.

5. Diagnostic Laboratory for Identifying Speech and Hearing Problems *

The function of the San Bernadino County Schools' mobile speech and hearing diagnostic unit is to supplement an existing program of identification, assessment, therapy and follow-up evaluation of children with speech and hearing handicaps. The staff of the mobile unit works with speech and hearing specialists in local school districts in the county and provides diagnostic studies of elementary school children, field in-service training for school district personnel, and a resource library of materials and publications.

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*Roy C. Hill, (Superintendent of Schools, San Bernadino, California), A Mobile Diagnostic/Resource Unit for the Extension of Services to Speech and Hearing Handicapped Children and A Guide for Mobile Units to Assist in the Identification, Assessment and Planning for Speech and Hearing Handicapped Children, (E.S.E.A. Title VI B).

Telephone conversations with Roy C. Hill and Eugene Fahlbusch, Project Director, Speech and Hearing Mobile Diagnostic/Resource Unit.

The cost of duplicating the mobile unit would be approximately $21,000 plus $4,500 for installed professional equipment. Operating costs cover staffing of the unit. The program is funded through E.S.E.A., Title VI-B.

Eugene Fahlbusch, the project director of the mobile speech and hearing unit, attributes the advantage of the unit to the flexibility which permits diagnostic testing facilities to be used throughout a school district. He is convinced of the merits of the mobile unit and cautions only that the unit be well-designed for the tasks required of it.

Conclusion

Mobile units have been used in a multitude of ways to augment the facilities of schools. The cases we have examined lead us to conclude that the advantages of "mobilizing" special facilities are frequently not significant enough to compensate for the high costs involved in purchasing and outfitting a unit. The cost of a given unit is especially high because use of mobile facilities has not been great enough to allow for mass production of specific kinds of units. At present, the cost of a unit is predicated on the necessity of designing and building one or two units. If usage was widespread, the cost of each unit would be far less. In some cases the capacity for sharing specialized equipment over a large geographical area does compensate for the high initial cost of the unit.

Less specialized equipment seems better suited to mobility than very sophisticated equipment. The unit used in Vermont for the delivery of basic health services is considered to be more successful than is the dental unit used in Los Angeles. The former is a modestly outfitted unit without sophisticated equipment. The dental unit, on the other hand, contains very sophisticated equipment. We might conclude that the simpler the task, the more suitable for mobile facilities. The basic advantage of mobility is said to inhere in the sharing of specialized equipment by a number of separate users, yet highly specialized equipment is really not suited for mobility. It might also be suggested that a simply equipped unit is easy to move, whereas moving sophisticated equipment is a much more complicated task.